THE Nation

VOLUME 144 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 30, 1937 NUMBER 5

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 113
EDITORIALS:
ADVENTURE IN BLUEPRINTS 116
ACT OF GOD 117
JAPAN'S FATAL DILEMMA 117
TOM PAINE, BRIDGE-BUILDER 118
WASHINGTON WEEKLY by Paul W. Ward 119
PIUS XI AND HIS SUCCESSOR by Reinhold Niebuhr 120
A G. M. STOCKHOLDER VISITS FLINT by Robert Morss Lovett 123
GERMANY'S ECONOMIC IMPASSE. HOW HITLER PAYS HIS ARMS BILL by Alexander Vidakovic 125
ISSUES AND MEN by Oswald Garrison Villard 127
BROUN'S PAGE 128
BOOKS AND THE ARTS:
PSYCHOANALYZING ALICE by Joseph Wood Krutch 129
BEHIND THE LINES by William Troy 130
THE CONSTANTS OF SOCIAL RELATIVITY by Kenneth Burke 131
MODERN AND/OR CONTEMPORARY by Ben Belitt 131
THE COMMUNITY AS A HERO by Mary McCarthy 132
THE ECONOMICS OF CHINESE HISTORY by Maxwell S. Stewart 133
A GENERAL TELLS SOME TRUTHS by Oswald Garrison Villard 134
SHORTER NOTICES 135
DRAMA: NEAR THE BOHEMIAN COAST by Joseph Wood Krutch 136
FILMS: BLACK IS BLACK by Mark Van Doren 137
DRAWINGS by Bert Hayden and William Steig

Editors
FREDA KIRCHWEY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
MAX LERNER

Associate Editors
MARGARET MARSHALL MAXWELL S. STEWART

Editorial Associates
HEYWOOD BROUN ALVIN JOHNSON
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Hugo Van Arx, Business Manager. Walter F. Grueninger, Circulation Manager. Muriel C. Gray, Advertising Manager.

Copyright, 1937, by The Nation, Inc.

The Shape of Things

*

JOHN L. LEWIS, ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, showed himself to be an incorrigible bully and a bad strategist when he reminded the President of labor's help in the election. According to this view Lewis put himself in a class with the tariff barons and other disreputable gentlemen who have demanded payment for political aid, and by so doing injured his prestige. According to another, sympathetic, view his manifesto was bound to turn away Roosevelt's support rather than enlist it. Paul Ward, on another page, gives cogent reasons for disagreeing with both views. Obviously one cannot make a final judgment until many more General Motors cars have failed to come out of the slot and the efforts of Miss Perkins can be appraised in terms of practical results. But the newspapers put upon Lewis's statement an emphasis quite disproportionate to his actual words. They will sound simple and sensible to workers in the steel towns who voted for Roosevelt because he had promised to enforce collective bargaining. The middle-class reader should not be misled by the editorial sorrow of the newspapers. We may be sure that they are not primarily concerned with protecting the virtue of the President. They are out to discredit Lewis—who helped to discredit them and their masters in the election.

*

THE EFFORTS TO RAISE FUNDS FOR SENDING enlisted American volunteers to the Spanish loyalist forces have run into many snags—legal and strategic. The Communists have opposed the move as an open invitation to government interference. The government has taken no action but has published a warning of the legal penalties attached to enlisting or aiding enlistment. On the basis of this announcement and on the advice of its lawyers, *The Nation* has declined to carry an advertisement of the "Friends of the Debs Column," although it had previously published one. Meanwhile sufficient money has apparently been collected to make certain the dispatch of some 500 volunteers within a few days. What the final outcome will be is still in the lap of the Attorney General. We can only hope that no effort will be made to apply the full rigors of a law, ignored or loosely interpreted in the past, to the present effort to help Spain. Whether or not the strategy of the Debs Column was wise, its purposes are generous. Our government has welcomed the help of foreign volunteers in its own struggle to win its liberty. It has allowed its

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

citizens freely to enlist in foreign wars—from China to Chile. If it clamps legal restrictions on volunteers to Spain it will reverse its usual practice directly in the interests of fascism in Spain—and in Italy and Germany.

✶

THE HORROR OF THE NEW MOSCOW TRIAL IS inescapable, whatever one's belief about the guilt of the accused. In this trial we have for our better information the reports of Walter Duranty in the New York *Times*. His first accounts indicate a clear belief in the validity of the confessions, despite what would seem their incredible content. He says that documentary evidence against the accused will supplement their testimony. The Soviet government will do well to present every available bit of corroborative material. Confessions not supported by the evidence of witnesses not directly implicated will always be open to suspicion. As the confessions and testimony pile up from day to day, the sympathetic observer who has no political commitments of his own faces a choice of intolerable alternatives. If the defendants are not guilty as charged, no liberal can excuse the resort by a government to such measures, no matter what foreign dangers or other political realities may be cited in extenuation. If, on the other hand, the charges are essentially true, if it is true that these men who were the brain and conscience of the Russian Revolution in its early days and played a prominent part in the government until their arrest, actually sought to sell out the revolution itself to the reactionary governments of Germany and Japan, then the whole fabric of the October revolution crumbles away. A Socialist government that, for all its economic gains, is so riddled with conspiracies cannot lay claim to the trust that liberals have thus far accorded it.

✶

WE DOUBT THAT THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS will go down in history as a great state paper. Neither in its literary quality nor in the tenor of its program did it carry conviction. There was a thin but pleasant sort of rhetoric about it, and it was drenched in a moral goodwill, but it failed to recapture the ringing faith, the clear call to action, and the decisiveness of the first inaugural address. Either Mr. Roosevelt must have some sort of emergency to bring out his best powers, or else we have grown immune to his generalities during the last four years. But the address might have been far worse. It might have struck the "era of good feeling" note, or the complacent note of America's return to the pre-1929 Golden Age. That would probably have been Mr. Landon's inaugural, had he been given a chance at one. Instead, Mr. Roosevelt dedicated himself to reaching the "happy valley" of permanently improved living standards under democratic procedures. His address was distinctive as a picture, drawn for the first time by an American President, of poverty under capitalism. But the President did not make clear, even in general terms, how he would reach the happy valley. Is it to be by a steady and gradual march to a firm control over industry? Or is it to be by dotting the *i's* and crossing the *t's* of the old New Deal?

COUNSEL FOR DEFENSE IN THE BOMBING case in Wilkes-Barre have broken the back of one of the most intricate frame-ups in recent legal history. Last October Emerson Jennings, who had been conducting a one-man crusade against the corruption of the Lucerne County courts and particularly against Judge W. A. Valentine in the prosecution of miners' trials, was convicted of bombing the Judge's automobile. Evidence for the prosecution, smacking of the Gestapo, had been concocted by a pack of shady county detectives from dictaphone records taken in hotel rooms. In hearings for a retrial that have just been concluded, the defense attorney, Arthur Garfield Hays, with the help of Francis D. Biddle, Dudley Field Malone, and local counsel, proved that the evidence had been falsified and shot the state's case so full of holes that nothing was left but the frame. When the smoke had cleared, the prosecution's chief witnesses were all under arrest for perjury. Although Judge Shull, who presided over the hearings with conspicuous fairness, has not yet handed down his decision, a retrial seems certain. Since the state has no case left and will have to quash the indictment, this amounts to Jennings's acquittal. We congratulate the defense counsel and the judge for showing that even in labor cases justice need not be blind.

✶

AS THESE LINES ARE BEING READ THE NAZIS will be celebrating the fourth anniversary of Hitler's accession to power. No one will deny that they have been momentous years, or that great gains have been recorded. Industrial production has risen from 64 per cent of the 1929 level to 113 per cent of the pre-depression volume. Unemployment has been cut from six to slightly more than one million. The country has won again the "right" to arm; it has annexed the Saar; freed itself from its burdensome foreign debts; remilitarized the Rhineland; reasserted its control over internal rivers and canals; and weaned Mussolini from the Stresa front. But, as Mr. Vidakovic shows elsewhere in this issue, these achievements have been at a terrific price. Rearmament and work creation have piled up a debt of approximately 30 billion marks, Foodstuffs, particularly fats, meat, and dairy products, have become scarce. Five per cent of the country's grain acreage has been taken out of production during a period when food imports were being reduced by two-thirds. Wages have been at a standstill for four years, but the cost of living has risen by at least 6 per cent. Self-sufficiency has been won in oil and rubber, but the substitutes cost from two to six times the normal price. On the foreign front Hitler's successes, culminating in the recently established fascist front, have been won by utter disregard of promises, with a consequent harvest of suspicion and bitterness throughout the world. Yet it is the law of fascism that each victory requires something more spectacular next time, and it is not unfitting that Hitler should celebrate his anniversary by launching a series of vindictive press attacks on Czecho-Slovakia, which seems destined to be the next recipient of Nazi culture.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FACT THAT HITLER IS UNLIKELY TO abandon his single-minded policy in the face of last-minute offers of economic cooperation by England and France does not destroy the statesman-like quality of Mr. Eden's and M. Blum's speeches during the past week. War may seem inevitable, but until hostilities commence all hope is not lost. And if war is to be averted, it is evident that it will be through a series of mutual concessions such as the two statesmen outlined. The unrealistic element in the speeches is solely a matter of timing. Göring and Mussolini had just agreed to prosecute the war in Spain to the utmost. In reaching this decision they were obviously motivated by the conviction that neither France nor England would impose any insuperable obstacles to the fascist domination of Spain. Under the circumstances Blum's offer of economic collaboration, despite its qualifications, was interpreted as an admission of weakness and contemptuously rejected. M. Blum has displayed rare gifts as an administrator and a conciliator, but he has learned little regarding fascist mentality.

✶

ENGLAND HAS A NEW LABOR WEEKLY, THE *Tribune,* the first issue of which has just reached us. Its editor is William Mellor, who edited the *Daily Herald* before it sank to its neck in the quagmire of reactionary trade unionism. Its contributors and supporters come from the best elements in the British Labor Party—Cripps, Laski, Wilkinson, Pritt, Brockway, and others who are seeking to instil new energy into the now stagnant British labor movement. The style is crisp and popular; the program advanced is forthright and courageous. The newcomer will need our best wishes and aid, for it faces a task at once difficult and crucial—that of making British labor understand before it is too late that it holds the key to the world struggle from which the democratic scheme of life will emerge either strengthened or destroyed. In America a younger labor movement is beginning to develop its own press. We are happy to have a report that the lively and militant labor weekly newspaper, the *People's Press,* has reached a circulation of 150,000. Its progress is due to the realistic way in which it seeks to reach the workers and their families in terms of the daily experience they will understand.

✶

THE PRESIDENT DESERVES FULL SUPPORT IN his request for a three-year extension of the Trade Agreements Act, giving him power to conclude reciprocal tariff agreements without the approval of the Senate. While the progress in the past three years has seemed slow and in many respects inadequate, none can deny the value of liberalizing American trade policy in a day when the dominant trend has been toward economic nationalism. Most of the fifteen trade agreements have been with countries with which we have relatively little trade, but the pacts with Canada, Cuba, and Belgium have shown that the State Department can overcome substantial obstacles when the stakes are high enough. At times it has looked as if the United States were driving a hard bargain, demanding greater concessions than it was willing to give in return; despite this, our international trade is more nearly in balance than at any time since the war. That this could be achieved in the face of the devaluation of the dollar and despite the President's peremptory note which wrecked the London Economic Conference is largely due to the untiring, single-handed efforts of Cordell Hull. As long as he remains Secretary of State we need not fear to put full tariff powers in the hands of the Administration.

✶

MR. RUNCIMAN'S WEEK-END AT THE WHITE House, which was generally regarded as a prelude to a bigger and better addition to Mr. Hull's trade pact, has resulted in a tentative agreement to that effect. The President, in whom neo-Wilsonian ambitions are not absent, may feel that an Anglo-American trade agreement, stimulating a general loosening of tariffs and unfreezing the flow of world trade, would be the most effective gesture he could make for world peace. As for the President of the Board of Trade of Great Britain, is he here to woo Mr. Roosevelt or to threaten him? England is frightened by the rise of the Nye neutrality sentiment in this country. Should it become law it would mean no goods to any belligerents in any war. Mr. Roosevelt is already opposed to mandatory neutrality. But Mr. Runciman may be giving him an extra push in the form of a warning that England will start now buying from others those materials it could not obtain from us in war time. Mr. Runciman may also have suggested that the Ottawa agreements, which are due for revision and renewal, are likely to adopt a further trend toward Empire self-sufficiency unless—unless what? Whisper it not on Capitol Hill, but the word is credits. However, with the Johnson Act barring the way, any credits which Great Britain might look to us for would have to be preceded by something more substantial than "token" payments on war debts.

✶

MR. DOOLEY ONCE SAID OF HIS NEIGHBORS, "In Ar-rchey Road whin a marrid couple get to th' pint where 'tis impossible f'r thim to go on livin' together they go on livin' together." This is evidently the principle which guides members of the British House of Commons as they sit in solemn conclave over the Marriage bill introduced by A. P. Herbert, who for years has been trying to alleviate the strictness of England's divorce laws. The obstacles he faces are attested by the recent debates in the Commons, which drew a harrowing picture of England—its religion abolished, its moral principles "cut right across," and Soviet Russia calling the turn—in the event that a clause making three years of desertion grounds for divorce was allowed to stand. The desertion clause survived the vote, but incurable drunkenness as grounds was deleted as "a blow to the unity and sanctity of the home." The English, in their latest "periodic fit of morality," appear to believe that the sanctity of the home is better preserved by keeping a drunkard inside than outside it.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Adventure in Blueprints

THE President may be far from inaugurating a second New Deal in economics, but he seems to have launched a brand new New Deal in the realm of government administration. He has dropped the Brownlow report like a bomb into the Congressional midst, and is now sitting back with Rooseveltian gaiety to hear the reverberations.

Our own reverberation is to rejoice that—regardless of the merits of this particular program—*some* program of administrative reorganization has been projected. Anyone acquainted with the history of the American spoils system since Andrew Jackson would have been skeptical that a President would dare attempt a general administrative house-cleaning. It would seem a task that seven maids with seven mops sweeping for half a year could not attempt with any prospect of success. But Mr. Roosevelt is nothing if not daring—where he dares to be.

Granted its premises and its limits, the report is as intelligent a review of the problem of administration as we have yet had from official sources. Drawn up by a commission of three—two Chicagoans and a New Yorker, each of them combining elements of the professor and the practical executive, it is a mixture of treatise and plan of strategy, of some pompous rhetoric, some shrewd phrases, and some hard sense. Its general outlines are by now familiar: strengthen the President's immediate personal staff, and day-dream of giving him six assistants of "high competence, great physical vigor, and a passion for anonymity"; extend the merit system "upward, outward, and downward" to include all except policy-making posts; clean out the present Civil Service Commission and replace it with a Civil Service Administrator and a non-salaried Civil Service Board of seven members; glorify the Bureau of the Budget, get rid of all past and future McCarls (masquerading as comptrollers) and set up instead an Auditor General (hoping that a McCarl won't turn up in the new disguise); set up a permanent National Resources Board to do whatever planning can be jammed through the crevices of capitalist activity; set up twelve Cabinet departments, adding Social Welfare and Public Works (why not also National Defense?) to the existing departments; corral all the stray mavericks of existing boards, commissions, and government corporations within the neat and tidy fences of the departments.

Such is the program. Obviously it takes a long step toward a further strengthening of the American executive—a step intended to give flexibility and decisiveness to the action of democracies in a complex world, but one which should none the less be scrutinized in terms that go beyond "economy" and "efficiency." Economy this program will obviously not yield. Efficiency it will yield, but we must be wary lest it turn out to be primarily a paper-clip efficiency. It is clear that the committee has taken as its model the line-and-staff administrative organization of the big business corporation. That would be all to the good—if government were a big business corporation. But it is not. Its essence is not the handing down of ukases made in the single pursuit of profit, but the pooling of the best judgments in the difficult pursuit of the common good. A line-and-staff organization, with power radiating down from the top-center, is fine for such predatory exploits as war and industrial enterprise. But government administration, even at the risk of not looking so well on the blueprints, must have less stiffness, more room for those considered and varied judgments that flow from the relative autonomy of certain agencies. This is especially true if government is to be, as President Roosevelt insists it must be, an experimental art.

As regards the merit system, everyone who cares about good government will welcome its extension. This is especially true of those who look forward to a Labor Party government, the success of which will largely depend on a trained career service. The committee's proposal, however, to concentrate power in a Civil Service Administrator, while it gives a flexibility sorely needed now in the Civil Service in Washington, has its obvious danger of being a back-door return to the spoils system.

We can say unreservedly that to put such quasi-judicial agencies as the Federal Trade Commission, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Power Commission, the National Labor Relations Board under neat Cabinet roofs would not be a way of modernizing the executive department but a drastic step backward. Behind the proposal may be many good intentions: for example, to avoid the sort of friction that has just developed between Secretary Morgenthau and the Interstate Commerce Commission on the question of the corporate-surplus tax; to insure also that with each incoming President a Cabinet officer appointed by him would be able to supervise some of the holdover commissioners. But first of all, this would create rather than avoid friction. Secondly, the object of government is not to avoid friction but to get things done. And the heart of the matter is that the commissions that would be severely affected by this move are for the most part those whose job it is to get something done in regulating business. What rejoicing there will be among the economic royalists when the ICC, the FTC, the NLRB, the TVA, and the SEC are placed under the ultimate control of department heads, where whatever traditions of real concern for the welfare of worker or consumer they have developed will be whittled away by the continuous review of day-to-day decisions. Even the "semi-autonomous status" that the report suggests for them would seem, under such conditions, to be mainly rhetoric.

The place for such agencies should ultimately be under some real central-planning board, which could coordinate their activities within a general framework of socialization. That, for the present, is a counsel of perfection. But it is relevant to point out that until progress toward such socialization is made, the problem of the personnel which shall run this vast machine that the report contemplates remains unsolved. We talk of bureaucracy, but what makes for bureaucracy is the thinning out of the élan of officials because of the daily compromises they must make between the public welfare and the demands of the dominant economic group. What makes for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bureaucracy is the draining off of the best administrative blood by the encroachments of business offers and the subtle corruption of money values in a money society.

Until we can meet and solve that basic problem all our schemes for government reorganization are doomed to be so many heroic adventures in blueprints. Until we have put some order into our economic lives such admirable projects as the Brownlow report will continue to be desperate efforts to superimpose the planfulness of an administrative system upon the planlessness of an economic system.

Act of God

THE floods that are overwhelming the populous Ohio valley and endangering the lives of millions, come again as a fresh shock. There have always been floods on the Ohio, greater floods or lesser, but always disastrous to the river communities. Acts of God, the lawyers call them, in dodging the private liabilities involved. Nationally considered, rather than theologico-legally, the floods are proof of man's incapacity to plan.

We cannot control the rainfall. What we can do is to make systematic provision for storage dams on the tributaries of the Ohio, to skim the comb off the floods, to transform a seventy-five-foot stage into a fifty-foot stage, with which the river communities can somehow cope. This would cost money, hundreds of millions of money. But we are not likely to shrink from the thought of an expenditure of hundreds of millions for the Nicaragua Canal, if such a canal would strengthen our national defenses. The enemies that really threaten America are not the foreign imperialistic powers, which for all their stupidities realize that the United States is a good country to let alone. No: our real enemies are the forces of nature and man within our own borders, which shatter the hopes and turn to the worse great numbers of our own citizens, whose happiness is the real bulwark of our republic. Flood is one of these malignant forces; planlessness and the fear of spending public money for non-spectacular purposes are far more malignant.

But in most matters of the kind we have to deal with a still more malignant force—private interest, and the incurable disposition of our government to alternate babying of it with bullying. Flood control on the tributaries of the Ohio would mean scores of dams, each one capable of producing hydroelectric power which could be sold cheaply, since it would be a by-product. Can the private power interests endure the thought of such competition? Hardly. There will be little demand from the Senators and Congressmen from the flooded states for a solution that might play hob with the power interests.

In the early years of the World War a great engineer, Dr. Pierson, who had supplied Rio de Janeiro with modern utilities and who was taming the River Ebro in Spain in the hope of taming Catalonia, conceived a plan of putting the Monongahela and Youghigheny rivers to work. Starting high toward their sources he proposed to extract a few thousand kilowatts; moving down the rivers he proposed to set up dam after dam, wherever a good storage could be developed without drowning too much valuable country. He calculated that he could supply Pittsburgh and a radius of a hundred miles with power at less than half the cost of steam-generated power. And he calculated as part of his cost buying up all the steam plants at a generous margin over their actual worth.

Pierson was a great capitalist and a great planner. He had a weakness: he wanted his operations to conform to the law and the rules of government. He consulted the appropriate Cabinet member, who informed him that his plan involved so many infringements of the Sherman Act that he would probably be sentenced to jail for one thousand years. And so Pierson dropped the project and set out for Spain, to continue the taming of the Ebro. He sailed on the Lusitania and went down, but no New York newspaper mentioned the fact, then or since, although Pierson was by far the most important passenger. Then, it would have disturbed the market, for the Pierson interests were far flung. Later, it was ancient history.

The reader will pardon this ancient history. The last disastrous twenty feet of flood came out of the Monongahela and Youghigheny, still untamed, spilling their hundreds of thousands of kilowatts over the shattered fortunes of men who deserve better from their country. Act of God we say, blasphemously gilding our stupidity.

Japan's Fatal Dilemma

AFTER more than five years of undisputed mastery over Japan's foreign policy and virtually a free hand in China, the Japanese militarist-fascist clique is facing a showdown both at home and abroad. Fascism thrives on audacity and brashness. For years the military element has been criticizing the civilian group for pursuing a "weak" foreign policy, and has painted a glowing picture of the vast Asiatic empire which its own policies would assure. The ease with which the army overran Manchuria and penetrated North China enhanced its prestige at home even though it brought no concrete material gains. But each step necessitated further encroachment in order to consolidate the advance. And new triumphs were constantly required to justify the ever-increasing military and naval expenditures.

China's unexpected resistance has completely altered the picture. The collapse of the Japanese-supported invasion of Suiyuan, increasing pressure from Nanking, and the failure of the army's effort to establish a five-province puppet state in North China have destroyed the myth of fascist invulnerability. Even the navy, which formerly gave at least lukewarm support to the fascist program, has aligned itself against the present extreme demands of the army faction. And the army itself is split, as is indicated by the unwillingness of the younger officers to accept General Ugaki as Premier. Hamada's open attack on General Terauchi, former Minister of War, indicates that the civilian group has found new

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

courage. But it is not at all clear that it will succeed in preventing the establishment of a military dictatorship. The party leaders undoubtedly have a large measure of popular support; they are backed by the great industrial and financial houses of Mitsui and Mitsubishi; and they have the advantage of having taken the offensive after five years of hardship under military rule. But the military have two weapons whose importance Hamada and his followers dare not underestimate—fanatical patriotism and military prowess. No crime is so brutal, no mistake so costly, that the Japanese will not forgive it if it is committed in the name of patriotism. Even the treason of last spring's revolt was readily condoned because it was staged in the Emperor's name. Ancient traditions have made the army the supreme custodian of the nation's honor, and there is little reason to expect that the habits of centuries can be altered in weeks. Moreover, there is no reason to believe that fascist elements, however divided, will yield to civilians without resort to force. It may be that Prince Saionji, the last of the elder statemen, will be able to stage another of his famous compromises, but it is apparent that even the Prince, despite his great prestige, is distrusted by the fascist element. Thus far the Emperor himself has seemingly supported the more moderate groups, but his power is probably no greater than that of the English sovereign.

The final outcome may well turn on the result of the struggle now under way between the pro-Japanese faction at Nanking and the new nationalist movement of which Chang Hsueh-liang has suddenly become the symbol. Many aspects of the Chinese imbroglio are still hidden from view. But it is fairly evident that Chiang Kai-shek was forced to commit himself to resistance to Japan as a price for his freedom, and that the old clique at Nanking has attempted to oppose this policy, particularly in so far as it concerns the Communists. The Old Guard, however, has been defeated, if we are to judge from Chiang Kai-shek's rebuke to the Nanking *Central Daily News* for its attack on W. H. Donald and Madame Chiang. The *News,* an official Kuomintang organ, had taken Donald to task for asserting that the anti-Communist clique had endangered Chiang's life. It happens that the Communists hold the key to the situation, regardless of what happens at Nanking. If Nanking had attacked Sian, the Communists could have moved up into Suiyuan and joined General Fu Tso-yi, the latest national hero, in a drive on Japanese-controlled Chahar. Such a step would either force Japan to surrender its immediate territorial ambitions on the mainland or plunge it into a fruitless war with China which might eliminate it as a world power.

Japan is thus caught in the fatal dilemma which must ultimately ensnare all fascist countries. If it drives forward on its projected path of world conquest, it is bound to provoke war with China, the Soviet Union, or the United States. If it hesitates and seeks conciliation, the prospective victim—China in this case—will take heart and strengthen its resistance. Moreover, any sign of weakness is certain to encourage a counter-attack by the opposition at home. Under the circumstances we could wish that the military party would quietly surrender power and permit the civilian elements to make such concessions as are necessary. Such an outcome, however, would be intolerable to the fascist mind. It is unlikely that the issue can be settled without bloodshed.

Tom Paine, Bridgebuilder

THOMAS PAINE took pride in himself among other things as a designer of bridges. When he sailed back to Europe in 1787, after having helped to precipitate the American Revolution and see it through, he carried with him the model of an iron bridge he wished to see built over the Schuylkill. His talent, however, was for bridge-building of another sort. His famous pamphlets fed the flames in which men were forging the span between two forms of society. As Washington said, Paine's pamphlet "Common Sense" "worked a powerful change in the minds of many men" and is credited with having started the open movement for independence. His "Rights of Man," published in England in 1791 as a reply to the skeptics and detractors of the great French Revolution, had an enormous circulation—until it was suppressed and Paine indicted for treason. Pursuing his bent, he escaped to France, with the help of no less a mystic than the poet William Blake, and took his seat as a delegate in the convention, to which he had been elected by the Department of Calais. He aroused the suspicions of Robespierre but managed to survive him and took part in the convention until it adjourned in 1795. His last speech was an attempt to save universal suffrage. With the "Age of Reason" Paine went too far for his age, and it offended where his championship of the rights of man struck a dominant social and human chord.

Across the bridge that Paine, with many others, helped to build in the name of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, of enlightenment, of individualism, of laissez faire, large sections of the Western world, throwing off the last restraints of feudalism, entered fully upon an era of unprecedented progress. The pace was so rapid indeed that by the middle of the nineteenth century Karl Marx was proclaiming the holy trinity of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity to be an inadequate and outworn political mythology in whose name millions had been bound in economic slavery, and was projecting a more imposing span to a new society.

The two-hundredth anniversary of Paine's birth finds the world deep in the series of revolutions that Karl Marx, with others, foresaw and helped to prepare, while a new race of skeptics asks why and of what use. The answer is neither final nor pessimistic. So far at least, the drive for human liberty, though it has each time fallen back from its first high aim, has always reached and maintained a higher mark at each new forward thrust, has released the energies and aspirations of an ever larger human segment. There would be genuine reason for despair if it were not certain that men two hundred years from now will be engaged upon yet a new revolutionary cycle for ends not yet imagined.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WASHINGTON WEEKLY

BY PAUL W. WARD

Did John L. Lewis Blunder?

Washington, January 24

JUST as in the month prior to November 3 last the idea was being broadcast in Liberty League circles that Roosevelt's physical infirmities had at last caused his mental collapse, "as any doctor will tell you they were bound to do eventually," so now the word is being passed that John L. Lewis has gone nuts, and that in a fit of egomania he has placed himself in a position with relation to the White House that endangers not only the General Motors strikers but also the whole industrial-organization movement. This canard, as fantastic as the one that was circulated about Roosevelt, is based upon the fact that Lewis burst out here a few days ago with a public demand that Roosevelt throw his weight into the General Motors strike on the side of union labor.

It was no frenzied outburst. Instead, it was a piece of tactics so unheated that it might have been calculated in an ice box. Lewis had no fewer than four reasons for the action which has so horrified the editorial writers of the nation. As for Lewis's act having been a blunder —as for his having made it impossible for Roosevelt to come to his aid—that question seems to have received at least a partial answer in the action taken tonight by Secretary of Labor Perkins. In summoning both sides unconditionally to a conference here three days hence and invoking an act of 1913 for that purpose, she has done exactly what Lewis has been wanting the Administration to do, and it is inconceivable that she has done it without advance approval from Roosevelt, who discussed the whole situation with her and the rest of his Cabinet the day after Lewis's outburst. At the time the summons was issued, the General Motors management still was insisting that it would not talk peace with the union until all sitdown strikers had been evacuated from its plants; Miss Perkins's summons requires them to waive that condition or put themselves in the position of defying the government. Lewis has been expecting eventually to maneuver the company into precisely that position, knowing as he does—and as does almost everyone else—the diehard attitude of the corporation and its financiers toward genuine collective bargaining. Having maneuvered the corporation into an open show of bad faith and, probably, into a defiant refusal to accept the principles of the Wagner act, to which the Administration is committed, Lewis expected Roosevelt to castigate the corporation publicly.

When, figuratively, he brandished a war club over Roosevelt's head on Thursday, it was because developments indicated that the Administration was not going to allow him to maneuver General Motors into a defiant position. In the first place, there had slipped into the White House just a few days earlier a high mogul of the American Federation of Labor. This high mogul, who was *not* William Green, came away with what he regarded as assurances from Roosevelt that the President would do nothing in the General Motors strike that might aid the C. I. O., and on the day of Lewis's outburst this A. F. of L. official was engaged in spreading word of those assurances down through all the back channels of the labor movement. Lewis's thunder, therefore, was not intended for White House ears alone; it was directed as well toward all the front-line trenches in the battle to organize steel, rubber, aluminum, textile, and motors. If his thundering was more bellicose than necessary, it was because he was overacting for the benefit of his executive-board members who filled the rear of his press-conference room and whom he expected to carry to all outposts in the war an impressive account of the morale at G. H. Q.

Lewis's second reason for publicly demanding that Roosevelt live up to his campaign and inaugural pretensions was Roosevelt's persistent attitude of aloofness. It is an attitude well known to labor leaders, and they recognize it as an ominous one. It is the attitude, for example, that Roosevelt assumed in 1935 when he was getting ready to sell out the automobile workers and his own National Industrial Recovery Board for the second time. While a struggle involving the lives and fortunes of hundreds of thousands of workers went on in the automobile centers, there sat the President of the United States pretending that he knew no more about the conflict than the average newspaper reader and had even less interest in it. Lewis knew that Roosevelt was fully aware of every development in the strike. Lewis also knew that Roosevelt was completely and uncomfortably conversant with the diehard attitude of the motor magnates and their probable readiness to defy the President in public as they had done successfully in the privacy of his own office in 1934 and 1935. And he found himself being held at arm's length by the President with no effort being made to establish diplomatic but direct communication between the White House and the C. I. O. This, too, resembled the situation in 1934 when the peace plan embodying the Wolman board was foisted upon the automobile workers by the White House without consultation with their leaders.

Lewis's third reason is closely allied to the second. He had come to the conclusion that a little thunder was in order because Roosevelt persisted in leaving the negotiations in the hands of Miss Perkins, though knowing, Lewis believes, that she has neither the prestige nor the ability that the situation requires. Lewis is irrevocably opposed to the peace-at-any-price attitude which colors

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Miss Perkins's conduct as a mediator and, in fact, governs the whole conciliation service of the Labor Department.

The final reason for his outburst was in reality the deciding one. Lewis had discovered, as the motor magnates had discovered in 1934, if not in 1933, that Roosevelt can be bullied. He had found, in other words, that the sort of thundering to which he gave vent here Thursday actually works with Roosevelt. And being forestalled from thundering directly and privately into Roosevelt's ear at a time when such thundering seemed necessary, he had to thunder at him through the press. Roosevelt's rebuke to him the next morning was mild, so mild that there is even doubt that it was a rebuke to Lewis alone and not to Sloan and his colleagues as well. It can be argued with equal plausibility that Roosevelt found himself compelled to say something and that he contrived for the occasion the most meaningless sentence possible. Lewis knows how to take advantage of the President's penchant for sweet nothings. He refused to be rebuked and held a press conference of his own two hours after the conference at which Roosevelt had said that "statements, conversations, and headlines" were "not in order" in the strike situation. He also proceeded to dull whatever edge Roosevelt's remark had had by saying: "Of course, I do not believe as some have suggested that the President intended to rebuke the working people of America who are his friends and who are only attempting to secure the rights guaranteed them by law and under the public policy declared by Congress." Lewis first learned to take advantage of the President's gift for generalities and his inability to say no when the Guffey Coal Act was first introduced in Congress. Every week or so Lewis would see Roosevelt and afterward stand on the White House steps and, ignoring White House etiquette, which prescribes that callers shall not quote the President, boldly proclaim that Roosevelt was heart and soul behind the Guffey Act. Questions addressed to Roosevelt at press conferences with reference to these declarations by Lewis met with evasive answers, and Lewis kept on with his bold announcements of Presidential support until it was too late for Roosevelt to repudiate him.

An attempt is being made in the press and elsewhere to picture Lewis's latest demand upon the White House as a piece of sordid politics. The nation is being told that he demanded repayment for the hundreds of thousands that his union and others allied with the C. I. O. spent in Roosevelt's behalf during the Presidential campaign. You are being told that it is precisely on a par with the demands which the tariff barons and labor-hating industrialists would have made on the White House if Landon had been elected, except that they would have made their demands in whispers via the back door. But the parallel is non-existent. Lewis is not asking for new legislation or for deeds contrary to the public interest and for the benefit of some selfish minority. He is asking only that the Administration do its utmost to enforce what is already the law of the land and to carry out policies to which Roosevelt has publicly committed himself.

Pius XI and His Successor

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

WHAT will be the effect of the Pope's probably imminent death on Vatican policy? Catholics may regard the question as slightly premature, not to say impious, but they will hardly question its importance, particularly since the Vatican has taken such an intransigent line in the disturbed affairs of the contemporary world. Will its present policy, in which Catholicism is becoming more and more an unqualified ally of fascism, be changed? Does the selection of a new pope offer at least the possibility of some deviation from this line?

To judge from the casual conversation of non-Catholics, two presuppositions, both of which are very dubious, usually underlie speculations about the future. One is that the present Secretary of State, Cardinal Pacelli, is the probable successor of Pius XI. The other is that Vatican policy at the present moment is the personal policy of either the Pope or his Secretary of State and might therefore be appreciably altered in a new reign. The first supposition is almost certainly false and the second requires many qualifications. Cardinal Pacelli is not likely to be the new pope. If precedent should be violated and he should be raised to the papal throne, the present policy would certainly be continued; for it is his policy. There is, however, a long tradition against elevating the Secretary of State to the highest eminence, in spite of the prestige which he acquires during his secretaryship. The simple reason for this is that he makes too many enemies during his period of authority to be able to command a majority in the electoral college. The hierarch with the greatest chance of success is always one who is not too definitely committed to any particular policy and not too closely identified with the various divergent and sometimes conflicting influences, particularly monastic influences, within the church. Our own Presidential conventions offer interesting parallels to this tendency.

A brief survey of the reigns of recent popes clearly proves the point. The Secretary of State for the "angelic" Pope Pius IX, who reigned from 1846 to 1878, was the reactionary Cardinal Antonelli; but Pius's successor was not Antonelli. His successor was the diplomatic and slightly liberal Leo XIII. Leo had several secretaries, the last of whom, Cardinal Rampolla, gained a great reputa-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion in Europe. His election to the papacy was vetoed by the Emperor of Austria. Whereupon a very simple and pious man, who prided himself upon his simplicity and whose gifts were in marked contrast to those of Rampolla, was elected and reigned as Pius X. Pius chose a man much shrewder than himself as Secretary, the Spanish cardinal, Merry del Val. When Pius died in 1914 many assumed that his Secretary would succeed him. But Rampolla finally came into his own, for a disciple of his was chosen. The new pope reigned as Benedict XV. He chose Cardinal Gasparri as his Secretary. Gasparri gained wide fame and potent influence during the days of the World War. But he did not succeed his master, though he probably determined the choice of the successor. The election fell upon Cardinal Ratti, who had come into prominence through his negotiation of the concordat with Poland after the war. He had been a cardinal for only a short time when he was elected to the papacy in 1922.

Unlike Pius X, the present Pius is a man of diplomatic training and may therefore be presumed to be the author of his own diplomatic policy to a larger degree than was the previous Pius. Nevertheless, there are evidences that his Secretary of State, Cardinal Pacelli, has been the real driving force behind the present papal diplomacy, particularly in the recent years of the Pope's declining strength. Any speculation about a possible change in this policy may well be prefaced by a short description of it. A description of this kind cannot be entirely accurate, however, because Catholic discipline prevents the serious tensions within the church from being aired in public. Some very honest Catholics even deny that they exist. Yet the evidences of these tensions, not to say conflicts, are clear enough to the outside observer.

The present policy of the papacy, a policy for which Cardinal Pacelli is probably more responsible than the Pope, is first of all to favor the hierarchy against lay Catholicism. By "lay Catholicism" the present writer is designating something which Catholics have probably never named but which nevertheless exists. At times it has expressed itself in Catholic political parties, for example, in the German Center, in which such lay leaders as Chancellors Marx and Brüning achieved a greater authority over their followers, at least in the realm of politics, than was held by the bishops. The term "lay" Catholicism is not entirely accurate, however, for it ought to include certain liberal political movements, such as that led by the Italian priest, Don Sturzo. Many village priests, as distinct from the hierarchy, have been active in similar movements. It would be difficult to give an exact description of the political tendencies of these movements, but it is quite clear that they were economically more liberal and politically more daring than anything ventured by the hierarchy. They expressed the common man's discontent with the status quo. In Germany the policies of the Center Party managed to be a bridge between socialism and bourgeois conservatism, a not inconsiderable achievement considering that Catholicism is traditionally rooted in feudalism.

In every case the policy of the papacy in the now

Drawing by Bert Hayden

Pope Pius XI

closing pontificate was to the disadvantage of these movements. The concordat with Mussolini completely destroyed Don Sturzo's movement. The concordat with Hitler was concluded in defiance of the advice of the effective leaders of the German Center Party. It was an agreement between the Catholic hierarchy and the German Nazis in which the hierarchy sacrificed the lay forces of the church for the sake of preserving the freedom of the religious institution within a totalitarian state. Many who were leaders in the now defunct Center Party must find it difficult to suppress an "I told you so" when they realize how little the bishops gained in their bargain with Hitler, and how little they have been able to improve the terms of the bargain by pleading with Hitler to accept them as equal allies in the fight against communism.

The tremendous emphasis upon "Catholic Action" societies in the present pontificate belongs to the same policy. Catholic Action places the lay forces of the church directly under the bishops and thereby establishes a more perfect hierarchical control over all Catholics. The final effect of this process is the establishment of greater papal control over national units. This, despite the accusations of rabid anti-Catholics, has not been the unvarying policy of the papacy. Certainly the tendencies toward centralization of authority have increased in recent years. Among other things they led to an understanding between the church and Hitler in regard to the Saar plebiscite which violated the convictions of 90 per cent of the Catholic population in the Saar.

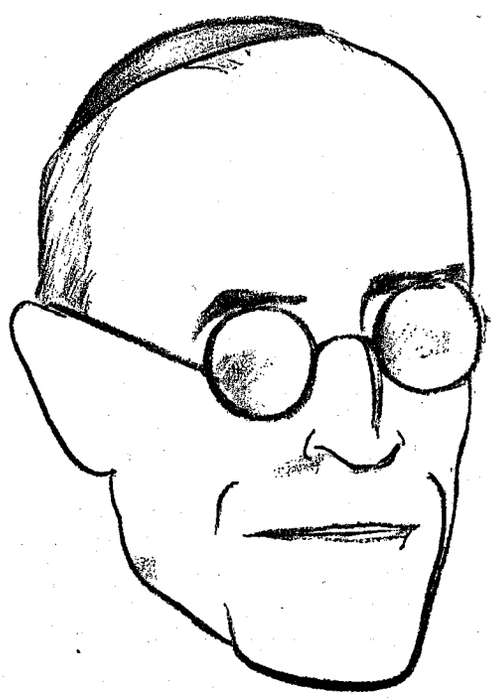
The other side of present papal policy is more difficult to deal with justly because of the universal reticence of all parties affected by it. Broadly speaking, it could be designated as the continued ascendancy of Jesuit influence at the Vatican over the milder and more spiritual tendencies of other monastic groups. The Benedictines and Francis-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cans are less anxious to play the political game than the Jesuits and are less deeply involved in political activities. Particularly since the Spanish crisis the Jesuit influence has been accentuated. For Spain is the classic nation of the Catholic counter-reformation, and Jesuitism is the driving force of that movement.

Any speculation about a possible new policy in regard to fascism and radicalism after the present pope's death therefore revolves around the question: Is the intimate alliance between Catholicism and fascism a consequence of Jesuit influence or is it the product of tendencies within Catholicism deeper and more far-reaching than any particular influence? The answer to that question would seem to be that Jesuit influence has merely accentuated a tendency which Catholicism is bound to express. If, therefore, a new pope stood less directly under Jesuit influence, one might hope for a less unqualified alliance between Catholicism and fascism; but one could hardly hope for a reversal of the policy. The change is bound to be slight, but even a slight qualification of the policy might have important consequences in world affairs.

Catholic political policy is determined by fateful forces in modern history. The most important is the intimate historical connection between Catholicism as a civilization and feudalism. This bond sometimes gives Catholicism



Drawing by Bert Hayden

Cardinal Pacelli

a certain degree of impartial perspective with regard to capitalism, such as was revealed, for instance, in the politics of the German Center Party. But it puts it at a complete moral and spiritual disadvantage where there is a dying feudalism, whether in Spain or in Latin America. In such a situation the feudal relation between church and state, or more particularly between the church and the army and the feudal landowning caste, is so strong that the instincts of Catholicism to preserve itself as a social system overpower any possible moral scruples which may inhere in Catholicism as a religion and to which the more spiritual monastics may give occasional voice. Fascism, except in Spain, is of course not feudalism but the effort to press the forms of feudalism upon a technical civilization, a procedure which results in consequences even worse than those of feudalism.

Catholic policy is determined by the irreligion of radicalism as much as by the feudalism of Catholicism. The avowed intention of radicalism to destroy institutional religion naturally drives religion into the camp of reaction, particularly if the religion is rooted in a historic institution. The radical will be unable to see anything in this opposition to his cause but proof of his thesis that all religion is counter-revolutionary. He will never know how many purer religious souls in a historic religious movement are really defending their faith and not a civilization. Nor do the purer religious souls realize to what degree the irreligion confronting them is not the decadence which they imagine it to be but a protest against the religious sanctification of social injustice.

There is a peculiar pathos in the present Catholic anti-Communist campaign, with its admissions that the church does not like fascism but prefers it to communism because communism tries to destroy it while fascism merely embarrasses it. Since German fascism is as anti-Christian as communism, the Catholic choice is reduced to a preference for a lower-middle-class type of modern religion over the proletarian variety. The total situation is determined by forces on both sides too deeply rooted in history and too inexorable in their logic to permit the hope that a change in reigning popes will greatly affect the issue. All historic religions have tended to become so intimately related to the civilizations of which they were a part that they have been driven to defend them against just as well as unjust judgments and to die with them if the judgment of history was a death sentence. Catholicism is particularly tempted to this identification and confusion because it was the architect of medieval and feudal civilization. There is good reason to estimate the achievement of medieval civilization more generously than the modern liberal or radical rationalist is inclined to do, but such a generous estimate increases the pathos of the present situation. This pathos is accentuated even more by the recognition that religion is never so simply a rationalization of a given social order as the radical believes, and that within the pale of Catholicism today there are many pure spirits who long for a better world and seek a higher justice.

The radical will not learn to estimate the perennial and basic character of this tragedy of modern Catholicism in particular and of organized religion in general for several centuries. He will learn it only when, three hundred or five hundred or a thousand years from now, some group of creative spirits challenges a decadent Russian society in the name of a higher conception of society. It will be seen then that this decadent society can offer stubborn resistance because its official spokesmen derive moral self-respect from the memories of Russian sovietism in its creative period and have appropriated the moral prestige of Lenin's disinterestedness.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A G. M. Stockholder Visits Flint

BY ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

AS THE owner of a few shares of the General Motors Corporation I became somewhat alarmed when I learned that the workers were sitting down in my plants at Flint, Fisher Body No. 1 and Fisher Body No. 2, preventing the company from finishing and shipping cars and threatening to interrupt the orderly flow of dividends. Accordingly I took Sunday for a visit of investigation. Arriving at Flint I went to Fisher 2, and on introducing myself as their employer was cordially received by some 400 men occupying the plant. I must admit that I was fortunate in having as my companion Adolf Germer, who is on the board of strategy directing the strike.

My first anxiety was for the condition of my property, and I was relieved to find it well cared for. Springs and cushions were being used for beds, it is true, sometimes laid side by side as in a dormitory, sometimes isolated in cubicles between bales of goods. I was glad to see certain marks of domesticity—a clothes tree, an alarm clock, a whisk broom. The boys had made themselves pretty comfortable. I asked who was responsible for cleanliness, order, and protection of property, and learned that the government was what might be described, except for its unfortunate connotation, as a soviet. Mass assemblies were called at frequent intervals at which everything of importance was discussed. Court was held every morning. I asked what crimes were committed and was told that bringing in liquor and circulating rumors were the usual offenses. Those found guilty of the charges against them were put out.

After a hearty Sunday dinner of roast chicken and ice cream, I was preparing to go over to Fisher 1 when I noticed several round holes in the great glass windows, and inspecting more closely some of the foetus-like bodies of cars on the tracks, awaiting their delayed birth, I saw similar holes in the glass and dents in the metal sides. I thought these indicated wanton violence against my property, and asked how it occurred. Gun fire by the police, was the answer. I knew that there had been fighting on the Monday before in the street outside, but these disasters were on the second floor. It was obvious that there had been firing from a distance into the plant, endangering the lives of my employees, whom I was beginning to like though they were on strike, and damaging my property. Accordingly I asked for particulars, and as I have seen no clear account of the affair in any newspaper, despite the columns of newsprint that have been given to the strike, I will set down the facts as they were related to me by at least eight participants and eyewitnesses.

The sitdown strike involving 1,500 to 2,000 workers started at Fisher 1, when it appeared that the management was loading dies and special machinery into box cars to be shifted to other cities. Our company is fortunate in having factories scattered over the country; so that by transferring equipment a strike in Flint, Michigan, can be broken by workers in Atlanta, Georgia. Incidentally, that is why the workers demand the industrial form of organization and insist on dealing with General Motors as a whole instead of with the component companies.

The sitdown strike spread to Fisher Body 2, where from 400 to 600 men were involved. Relations were harmonious with the company police, who agreed to let the outer door stand open for food to be brought in. Attempts were made from time to time to shut off heat, light, and water, but workers with a mechanical turn of mind turned them on again.

On Monday afternoon the city police under Chief James Wills undertook to block both ends of the street in front of Fisher 2, to prevent food from being brought in. Later the police made an attack in force with tear gas and gun fire, to enter the plant. The strikers from inside countered the tear gas with streams of water, and the bullets with heavy hinges and other missiles. Some twenty-eight persons were injured, fourteen so seriously as to be taken to the hospital, which, I was told, had received warning beforehand to have an emergency ward ready. The defeat of the forces of law and order is referred to as Bulls' Run. The company police of Fisher 2 apparently took no part in the battle, and were found next morning in a ladies' rest room, where they had stood all night at attention, lacking room to sit down. They were released without acrimony by the workers in the factory.

Leaving Fisher 2, I went over to Fisher 1. After the battle, through Governor Murphy's efforts, the strikers and the management of General Motors had been brought to an agreement to go into conference on Monday, January 18, the workers to evacuate the Fisher plants on the promise that the company would not move machinery or dies. They were to march out of Fisher 1 at one-thirty, and a big crowd was collecting outside to see the evacuation. In the long façade of Fisher 1, which stretched away, it seemed, for half a mile into the foggy distance, no door was open, and I had to go in by a window; but once inside I found the boys very good-natured and, when they realized that I was their employer, flatteringly eager for my autograph. Suddenly a loud-speaker blared forth. It seemed that the General Motors management had agreed to negotiate also with the Flint Alliance, and this was regarded as a breach of faith by the board of strategy of the United Automobile Workers of America, since the question whether the U. A. W. A. should be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the sole bargaining agency was one of the points to be negotiated. Accordingly orders were given to hold the plant, the sitdown strike to continue until negotiations were finally complete. The crowd surged back to Fisher 1, where an impromptu outdoor meeting was held to protest against the action of the company.

The agreement of the company officials to admit the Flint Alliance to the discussion was a highly provocative action and was deprecated as such by Governor Murphy. It looked like an attempt of the company to get out of the negotiation into which it had been persuaded. The Flint Alliance is an anti-strike organization mainly of white-collar workers and their families and various beneficiaries of General Motors, directed by George Boysen, ex-mayor of Flint and a former paymaster of the Buick Company. It is in no sense a labor union and is detested by the workers. It represents rather the political forces of Flint, which are aligned with General Motors—mayor, police, courts. On that Sunday in Flint there was meeting the Michigan Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, at which it was forcibly pointed out to the workers that they had only to use their ballots to turn out the whole nest of unclean birds at the next election—defeat the mayor, move the impeachment of Judge Black for his action in granting a sweeping injunction against the union and in favor of a corporation, General Motors, in which he has substantial holdings, and force the removal of Chief of Police Wills for invoking violence both savage and futile.

The General Motors strike of 1937 may prove to be historic inasmuch as it has acclimated the sitdown strike in this country as a weapon of industrial conflict. The right of non-working employees to occupy the plant can hardly be classed among civil liberties. It is rather one of the industrial liberties which are on the way to becoming legally recognized. A little over a century ago it was illegal for workers to combine to refuse work for less than a certain sum. Quite recently it was against the law to picket a struck plant. Today picketing is among the civil rights. Already intelligent governors are applying the rule of reason and common sense to situations which law has not reached in its majestic progress. Governor Earle of Pennsylvania has refused to order the state troops to dispossess the bootleg miners, who are taking coal from seams which are their natural source of livelihood, which the legal owners refuse to work. Governor Murphy has refused to use his militia to throw out the sitdown strikers in the General Motors plants, and has ordered the company to cease the effort to cut off heat, light, and water.

The sitdown is the most effective form of strike. It permits the strikers to remain in comfort, even if somewhat bored, instead of tramping about on the picket line in heat, cold, wind, and wet. It obviates the most unpleasant and demoralizing feature of a strike, the use of strike-breakers. It eliminates violence, or at least places responsibility for it squarely on the police. It promotes the morale of the strikers. Above all it is a forcible reminder to workers, to management, to shareholders, and to the public that legal title is not the final answer to the question of *possession*. Who has the better human and natural right to call the Fisher plant his—I, whose connection with General Motors is determined by the price recorded on the New York Stock Exchange, or the worker whose life and livelihood are bound up in the operation of making cars? I bought my shares at long odds and probably have already collected the purchase price in dividends. When I place a winning bet in a horse race I do not claim a share in ownership of the horse. I know from my political economy that my position is the result of labor and sacrifice. Whose? Not mine. Obviously the enormous mass of wealth represented by the capitalization of General Motors, repeatedly enlarged by split-ups and stock dividends, is the surplus resulting from the toil of millions of workers over many years. Obviously they have not shared fairly in the wealth they have produced.

Some years ago I gave in the *New Republic* an account of the effort to mobilize the stockholders of the textile mills of New Bedford in support of the strikes against a wage cut. The strikers drew up a powerful plea to the stockholders arguing that the plight of the companies was due largely to the graft and nepotism of managers, who were in effect double-crossing both owners and workers. It would be a less hopeful effort to bring any considerable number of the holders of General Motors stock to intervene in behalf of the workers against the immensely successful management of the company, but nevertheless an appeal from the U. A. W. U. board of strategy to the shareholders, broadcast through the press, would have some effect. We should be informed of the fact that since the settlement arranged by President Roosevelt three years ago there has been constant chiseling by some of our employees to the disadvantage of others. In the Chevrolet plant men are dismissed for wearing badges, for speaking of the union in the lunch hour. At the A. C. spark-plug works girls are entitled to pay increases based on the length of their employment, but they are dismissed when they rise too high in the scale. They may be taken back after a time as beginners.

It is absurd to pretend that either the company or the government under whose auspices the agreements were made has provided any practicable means of rectifying these grievances of the workers. The managers to whom we pay grotesquely huge salaries act the part of ownership, and their behavior is an insult to the intelligence and humanity of those to whom they are legally responsible. They interpose objection to dealing with the U. A. W. U. on the ground that it does not represent all the workers. I should judge that at Flint it was pretty nearly their unanimous choice. In any case it does represent the only effective form of labor organization applicable to a gigantic and far-flung industrial aggregation such as General Motors, and the only practicable method of forcing the elimination of unfair practices under which the workers suffer. As such it deserves the support of the public and especially of that not inconsiderable number who hold the legal responsibility of ownership of the corporation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Germany's Economic Impasse

BY ALEXANDER VIDAKOVIC

How Hitler Pays His Arms Bill

THE fourth anniversary of Nazi rule finds Germany engaged in a frenzied effort to turn butter into cannon, while the world anxiously speculates on three questions. How far has German rearmament really gone? How has Germany found the means to rearm? How far can it still go without risking collapse or explosion?

To answer the first of these questions with absolute certainty is of course impossible in view of the jealous secrecy surrounding armaments and the suppression of budget figures. A fairly accurate estimate may nevertheless be obtained from a study of uncontested figures published in Germany itself, provided we bear in mind that changed methods of bookkeeping and "ideological computations" frequently render even official German figures misleading. Thus, for instance, debt statistics include neither "employment creation" nor armament bills, because they are not yet "actual" debt. Similarly, any calculation of military expenditures must depend on the inclusion or exclusion of expenditures for semi-military organizations and industrial investments for army purposes. Finally, the outlay on armaments cannot be regarded as their actual value unless account is taken of the real value of compulsory labor or of labor at less than normal working wages.

Hitherto the money to finance rearmament has been obtained by Nazi Germany in four ways: (a) by short and long-term debts, (b) by the appropriation for military purposes of funds dedicated to other needs, (c) by the sale of public assets, and (d) by outright confiscation of private property. The first of these, short-term debts, according to the German Institut für Konjunkturforschung, amounted at the end of 1935 to about 8,000 million gold marks. These short-term debts were contracted at an ever-increasing rate, rising from about 3,000 million for 1933 and 1934 together to 5,000 million for 1935 alone. Assuming an unchanged rate of velocity in 1936, an assumption which is more than justified by the evidence, short-term debts alone would have reached 13,000 million gold marks at the end of 1936. These short-term issues are complemented by several long-term issues which amount to about 4,500 million marks, giving a minimum total of Reich indebtedness of 17,500 million gold marks at the beginning of 1937. The correctness of these figures is attested by the official statement that the Reich's debt at the end of June, 1936, was 14,375 million gold marks, which figure did not at the time include tax certificates worth 1,040 million or the two loans of 1,300 million marks issued in July and December.

It is interesting to note, however, that at the very time when official statistics put the Reich indebtedness at something over 14,000 million, Schacht's organ—and Schacht ought to know—put the total at somewhere between 18,000 and 19,000 million marks. Also, that the official figures cited above do not include liabilities for armaments and work creation, which at the end of 1935 were officially stated to be about 9,000 million marks, of which 5,000 to 6,000 millions were contracted after 1933. If we therefore allow only for a similar proportion of armament and work-creation bills in 1936, that is, 2,000 million, we get an officially admitted minimum for the Reich's debt of about 28,000 millions; Schacht's figures, inclusive of later commitments, would put the total debt nearer 35,000 million gold marks, nearly all of which was contracted during the period 1933 to 1936.

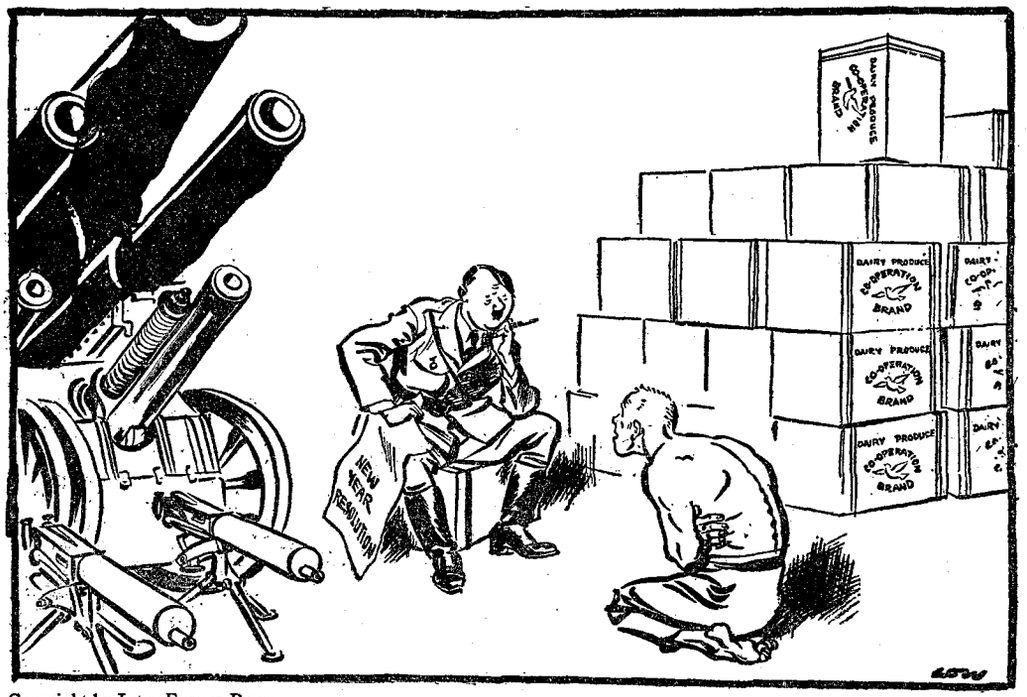
It is not disclosed, naturally, how much of this money and how much of the regular budget of about 25,000 million marks for the period 1933-36 was spent directly on armaments, how much indirectly on strategical road-building and industrial investment for arms manufacture, and how much on social measures. There is, however, a valuable admission by the Minister of Finance that reduced unemployment and increased revenue had expanded his resources during the same period by about 5,000 million marks. It may not be doubted that much of this money found its way into armaments.

Thus, if from the total of 55,000 to 60,000 million marks collected from budgetary sources and from loans we deduct the debts contracted before 1933, the regular budgetary needs, and extraordinary expenditures for social relief, and if we allow for the difficulty of exactly allocating to armaments or other purposes sums devoted to certain types of industrial investment and road-building, even so we obtain a minimum spent on armaments of not less than 20,000 million marks, while an estimate of around 30,000 million is probably much more realistic.

In addition to long- and short-term loans the Nazis have raised money from the sale of industries owned by the state. These industries, and also many industrial shares acquired by the German Socialist government, are now being sold off in increasing quantities, and a recent official statement implies that the Reich may sell even more of its undertakings in order to obtain means for "extraordinary expenditures." It is needless to ask what these "extraordinary expenditures" are.

Such "regular" methods of obtaining cash as budgetary receipts, debts, and sale of property are complemented by "ideological" methods, which means the confiscation of the private property of opponents. The latest addition to these "ideological" methods is a decree issued in December, 1936, by which private property can be sequestrated and put under a sort of bankruptcy receiver-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Copyright by Inter-Europa Press

DES CANONS OU DU BEURRE ?

ship if suspicion arises that the owner intends to remove his property from the Reich. During the first month of this law's operation no fewer than thirty-nine persons were dispossessed, and it can hardly be supposed that Nazi naivete goes to the extent of dispossessing the poorest of the citizens. In fact, considering the number of Jews in Germany from whom a few drops may still be squeezed, the inventor of this law may have opened to Nazi Germany sources of untold and untapped wealth.

But leaving aside the last two methods of raising cash, it is impossible to view without concern the economic condition of a state which not only spends 12 to 13 per cent of its national income on regular budgetary purposes but finds it necessary to raise the total government expenditure to a level where it equals about 30 per cent of the national income. This income was 46,500 million marks in 1933, something over 50,000 million in 1934, 57,300 million in 1935, and 61,000 million in 1936, making a total of about 215,000 million marks. The increasing state indebtedness incurred, mainly for the creation of capital goods and with no effort toward funding, is rapidly driving the German banking system into an inflationary cycle. Private saving stopped long ago; bank deposits in the five leading Berlin banks, for instance, have declined since 1933 from 6,800 to 6,140 million marks. German citizens who can afford it prefer immovable property to cash. Hence Germany is now entering a housing boom.

All this puts a special strain upon the banks, which have to meet increased demands from the state, industry, and builders without any corresponding increase in their real assets. The cyclic race between rising prices and the rising demand for money has begun in earnest. The Reichsbank's bill holdings—of rediscounted government bills—already exceed its note issue, and since there is no increase in its gold holdings, further rediscounting can be financed only by a further expansion of its fiduciary issue. The only visible alternative is a cessation of state borrowing and a switch from the manufacture of production goods to that of consumption goods—in other words, the complete abandonment of the present high speed and volume of rearmament.

Government policy is even more disastrous to industry than to banking. In order to obtain the liquid capital necessary for armaments, the government has put an embargo on the issue of shares and debenture flotations by private companies, thus preventing the expansion of any industrial concern without special consent. This consent is primarily given to industries directly or indirectly occupied with the manufacture of arms. Thus of the total capital investment, which in 1933 amounted to 5,300 million marks, in 1934 to 8,700 million, in 1935 to 11,600 million, the government claimed officially 48 per cent, while another 30 per cent was in industries concerned with armaments.

This withdrawal of funds for the needs of the government or favored industries has left insufficient funds for replacement of wear and tear. Thus the Trade Research Institute stated in the autumn of 1936 that "after more than three years of continuous and intense utilization of the industrial apparatus, there is need for replacement of plant and for new industrial equipment." This need for replacement of depreciated plant the institute put at about 4,000 million marks.

German machinery and plant may still last for some time. But eventually German industry will reach a point at which high-pressure armament manufacture must come to a standstill, unless all of industry is converted to war uses. It is then that the Reich will have to shoulder the almost superhuman task of reconstruction under the double burden of exhausted liquid capital and arbitrary and misplaced industrial investment.

The present German prosperity has been achieved, and rearmament financed, in a threefold way—by using all the means of the present, by pledging much of the earnings of the future, and by spending the capital inherited from the past. No nation can go on indefinitely with such a policy, not even the Third Reich. The only question is how long? And we shall be able better to answer it when we have considered two other factors—the German position in raw materials and the sacrifice in human material which the Nazis are making at present on their highest altar, that of armament.

[*This is the first of two articles on Nazi economics and rearmament. The second will appear next week.*]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Germany and Ethics

WHATEVER else may be said about the European dictatorships, they are compelling us to test anew our standard of values in ethics as well as our political beliefs. They are, for example, presenting us at every turn with the age-old question as to whether the end can ever justify the means. Hardly a day goes by that I do not meet somebody just returned from either Germany or Italy who tells me how marvelously happy and prosperous the people are. "You may say what you please about Hitler," is what they say, "but Germany never looked so well. The people are polite. They go out of their way to be nice to foreigners. There seems to be no discontent whatever. Of course the dictator does many things of which I disapprove, but you must be fair and give him credit for the good things he has accomplished. It's not all bad."

I find it hard to reply politely. I am tempted to imitate Dorothy Thompson, who usually says: "I will not debate with anybody the exact merits of a bloody-handed murderer." I, too, am not interested in an effort to evaluate the exact ethical worth of a man who had no less than 1,254 men and women and youths killed in one night and then stood up in the Reichstag, swore that there were only seventy-seven murdered, and assumed in emphatic language the complete responsibility for their deaths. "I assumed the supreme power." I cannot be enthusiastic over the good manners of the Germans toward foreign visitors, for I think of the 25,000 men and women still confined in concentration camps and often horribly tortured and maltreated. I deny emphatically that the man responsible for these and many other crimes against humanity can in the slightest degree atone for those crimes by building a magnificent stadium and superb roads, or by freeing his people from the yoke of the unjust Treaty of Versailles.

Any dictator can build good roads. Any dictator can send 3,000,000 Christmas baskets of food to the destitute and needy with his picture and the words: "Your Leader is thinking of you." Any dictator can enforce outward order and militarize his people. I do not have to go to Germany to know that superficially things look well; that the streets are clean and free of beggars; that there is universal politeness; and that by means of the huge army, the compulsory work camps, the great rearmament orders to heavy industry, and the concentration camps, the number of unemployed has been reduced by the dictator from 6,000,000 to 1,000,000. Nor do I have to go to Germany to know that side by side with this "progress" and the great change in the psychology of the youth of Germany, the whole intellectual life of Germany has been destroyed; that three years have been cut out of the primary educational system and one year out of the university course; that academic freedom is no more; that the press is denatured and dead; that there has been created an atmosphere of fear and domination and of disregard of the most precious human rights in which no creative spirit or instinct can survive.

These things alone seem to me so infinitely worth while and necessary to the spiritual development of a people that I cannot feel that the material achievements of Hitler and Mussolini weigh many grains beside them. Their material advances are in the first place not the sole prerogatives of dictatorships. In the second place, the achievements of both the Italian and German dictatorships have been purchased by a distinct lowering of standards of living; and, finally, we do not yet know whether they will not crash financially. Certainly the regimentation of the whole people in order that what there is in the way of butter and other fats may be evenly distributed does not warrant the belief as yet that even on the material side the dictatorship is a howling success. "Guns instead of butter," is General Göring's slogan. Well, I believe, like Anthony Eden, that for the health, safety, and sanity of peoples the world over and for their future happiness and security butter is preferable to guns.

No outward order or material accomplishment can offset the ethical and spiritual degradation of a people. No roads or other public works and no beautifully drilled armies and navies can possibly counterbalance the misleading of a great people by the doctrine of force, by the teaching that war is the supreme good, by the dissemination of utterly false and unscientific racial theories, and by the assumption that there is wisdom enough in any dictator to guide the intellectual development of many millions of people. Of course the economic welfare of the people must be a government's primary concern; without that there can be no other advance. But the question is simply whether material prosperity is to be vouchsafed to a lot of disciplined slaves or to free men living in that atmosphere of individual liberty and experimentation and self-expression which history has invariably proved to be the sole condition under which humanity progresses.

How any loyal American—loyal not to the flag, the mere symbol of our nation, but to its fundamental principles—can indorse the regimes of the dictators is beyond me. Yet I meet these disloyalists at every turn, with their panegyrics on the great progress of Italy and Germany. Again I deny that the outward material progress achieved by Hitler in any way offsets or compensates for the misery, the injustice, the blood upon which it is built.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BROUN'S PAGE

Laurels for the Living

ANDREW MELLON has given to the government his collection of paintings and will build a gallery to house them. I'm under the impression that Mr. Mellon's art consists largely of old masters, and there can be no question that the value of the gift runs high into the millions. There are many less useful things which Mr. Mellon might have done with his money, but I am going to be pretty impatient if editorial writers begin to point out that such a gift is the complete justification for the capitalist system.

It will be said, I suppose it has been said already, that but for great fortunes there would be no art, no science, and precious little education. But it seems to me that rich men, including Mr. Mellon, have done much less than enough for American painting. The federal projects have come closer to the need. Perhaps I press my point too hard, but I honestly believe that the emphasis placed upon the collecting of old masters does very little to encourage the native painter. It almost handicaps him. Throughout the land there is created a kind of thinking which moves the mind to believe that painting is a thing which once existed but now is definitely dead.

It is a familiar fact that there is no general buying public for paintings in this country. The walls of homes and hotels and schools are mostly adorned with prints and reproductions, some of them good and some simply terrible. As far as the schools go, the so-called boondoggling has been a godsend. Young artists have come in and done some amazingly good murals based on modern themes. For the first time the average pupil is beginning to learn that there can be such a thing as wet paint in the field of art.

Of course, fiction and the drama of stage and screen have done a great deal to encourage the neglect of painting. I might indict the opera as well. We of the general public have held pretty closely to the idea that if a man didn't wear a funny hat, live with his model, and starve in a garret, he couldn't really be a painter. I'm frank to admit that the strength of this tradition has done a great deal to hold me back from following up a natural aptitude in oils. It wasn't the hat which scared me off, and starving in a garret would undoubtedly be good for me, but I've not had the fortune to meet any willing model. As a matter of fact, I never found anybody who would pose for me, let alone share a garret. And so I have lived as a landscape painter and probably I shall die the same way.

But I cite my own tragedy merely as a minor one. I suppose even in a socialist state it might not be feasible for the commissar of art to pick a likely young woman and say, "You must serve as a model for Broun and share his garret. It is for the state and for posterity." You see posterity includes the very people I want to leave out of the equation.

Posterity furnishes the least encouraging of all publics. The man who writes or paints or sings for posterity is really doing a monologue for his own entertainment. Even before the federal government began to scratch the surface in its art projects one American industry had just about solved the problem of discovering and encouraging young talent. I refer of course to the art of professional baseball, and by now college football has begun to follow its example.

I seem to see five young men living in a small town in Texas. One of them is a promising youth who can pitch with his left hand. Another is a halfback of great capacities in a broken field. The third can sing. The fourth could be a sculptor, and the fifth can paint like nobody's business. Let us assume that each of the youths is equally talented in his own line. Which of the five do you think will come first to fame and fortune?

The proper answer is that it will be a nip-and-tuck race between the first two mentioned. Some scout from the big leagues will be sure to take a look at the left-hander while he is still in high school. Mel Ott, the so-called veteran outfielder of the Giants, was lifted out of a little country school in Louisiana when he was sixteen. Farsighted alumni of the better colleges keep themselves informed about which scholars in the preparatory schools can make a forward pass or drop kick.

Once upon a time the coach of a New York State college was driving down a country road in summer. A tall youth with spreading shoulders was putting white paint upon an imitation colonial cottage. They were almost the broadest shoulders the coach had ever seen. He stopped his car and came to the edge of the lawn. "Hey, you," called the football mentor, "how much are they paying you for that job?"

"Four dollars a day," replied the young man.

"Come down off that ladder," said the coach with simple dignity, and the young man passed all his examinations that autumn and went on to become one of the greatest roving centers of all time.

But he happened to be a house painter. If he had gone in for nudes or still life, no passing motorist would have given him a tumble.

All of which brings me back to Andrew Mellon. Mr. Mellon did his scouting in the galleries of the established dealers. He made no discovery. He was not a pioneer. When he bought a painting, the lifetime batting average of the artist was already complete and familiar. Mr. Mellon did not lift up his eyes toward any living person on a ladder. It is a good thumping gift, but it is not enough to justify the existence of swollen fortunes. There should be laurels for the living.

HEYWOOD BROUN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PSYCHOANALYZING ALICE

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MOST readers of *The Nation* must have seen in their daily paper some account of the adventures of Alice in the new wonderland of psychoanalysis. Many years ago the late André Tridon undertook to explore the subconscious mind of the same little lady, but Tridon was something of a playboy while Dr. Paul Schilder, research professor of psychiatry at New York University, was presumably in dead earnest when he warned his hearers at a recent meeting of the American Psychoanalytical Society against exposing children to the dangerous corruptions of Lewis Carroll. All of Carroll's ten brothers and sisters stammered; "this fact might have made the author unhappy"; and in any event his superficially pleasant fairy stories are the expression of "enormous anxiety."

According to the account of Dr. Schilder's speech printed in The New York *Times*, most of Alice's adventures are "calculated to fill her with anxieties" of a pernicious nature. "She feels separated from her feet, she is stuffed in and out of small holes, and she never knows from minute to minute whether she will be small or large. . . . There are severe deprivations in the sphere of food and drink. . . . The poem of the Walrus and the Carpenter is of an astonishing cruelty. The Lobster is cooked. Alice herself frightens the birds with tales of devourings. . . . The fear of being cut to pieces comes again and again into the foreground. The head of the Jabberwock is cut off. There is a continuous threat to the integrity of the body in general." Even worse, apparently, is the fact that Carroll plays fast and loose with language and the conception of time. The innocent child may never recover from the shock of "mimsey" or "wabe." "This is a world of cruelty, destruction, and annihilation. . . . One may be afraid that without the help of the adult the child may remain bewildered in it and may not find his way back to the world in which he can appreciate love relations, space, time, and words." Personally I have never heard of a child who confessed to being dangerously terrified by "Alice," or of an adult who attributed his downfall to a trauma received from the book in infancy. But no doubt that proves nothing. The fears inspired are subconscious also.

Now there is not, so it seems to me, any reason for doubting the large general assertion that Lewis Carroll had "complexes" or that his fantasy was to some extent, at least, an expression of them. Even if we leave such esoteric matters as "threats to the integrity of the body" in the hands of specialists like Dr. Schilder, it ought to be evident that his nonsense, like so much nonsense and so much wit, was a device by means of which his intelligence protested against various kinds of cant which his priggish and conventional temperament would not permit him to flout openly. I see nothing far-fetched in the assumption that queens are absurd puppets in "Alice" because Carroll outwardly accepted the absurd legend of Victoria, or that the farce of the trial is largely unconscious satire of the pompous procedure of courts. Nor do I see how anyone can ponder the dilemma in which Alice is placed when she tries to choose between the Walrus and the Carpenter without perceiving a submerged La Rochefoucauld in the mild-mannered don who found his chief delight in photographing little girls. Alice, it will be remembered, thought she liked the weeping Carpenter best because he seemed a little sorry for having betrayed the oysters. But when she was told that it was he who had eaten the most and tried to shift her sympathy to the Walrus, she got a crushing retort—the Walrus had eaten as many as he could get. Only a man who had hidden somewhere in his soul a very cynical conception of human behavior could, I submit, have conceived that incident.

If we go that far we may also, I suppose, take it as a matter of course that Alice's fantastic adventures are none of them quite sane. But that is not the point. Why, of all people, should a psychoanalyst be shocked to find complexes in an artist, or afraid to have children ("polymorphically perverse" by Freudian premise) introduced at an early age to a literature the very secret of which is its successfully playful catharsis of certain all but universal obsessions? As for the satire and the cynicism which Dr. Schilder does not mention, I should say that any child is ready for it as soon as he is capable of recognizing its existence and that he is never too young to begin to laugh at those morbid

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fears which, the psychoanalyst himself is ready to assure us, he is never too young to feel.

In America the philistine used to be above all else a moral man. The arts had nothing to fear from his fury except when he could discover that they were "impure." Nowadays he is more likely to discover in the most unexpected places some defiling trace of either "bourgeois prejudice" or "psychological abnormality," and to look askance upon anything which does not combine the obsession of a social worker with the "normality" of a boy scout. Some years ago when I first met a certain distinguished psychoanalyst I told him that I had observed in his many books what appeared to me to be a rather serious non sequitur: the first eight chapters were usually devoted to showing how abnormal most of the distinguished people of the world had been, while the last always concluded with a "therefore let us endeavor to be as normal as possible." I asked him if he did not suppose that a too thorough psychic house-cleaning might be undesirable for those who aspired to be something more than merely "normal," and I received a remarkable if somewhat pompous reply. "I would not," he said, "like to give a categorical answer to that question, but I will say one thing. Dr. Freud and I are the only two prominent psychoanalysts who have never themselves been analyzed—and I think we have made the greatest contributions to the science."

BOOKS

Behind the Lines

INVASION. By Maxence Van der Meersch. Translated by Gerard Hopkins. The Viking Press. $3.

THIS is another addition to that most recent phase of war fiction which, in France especially, has been concerned with exhibiting the moral and psychological dislocations caused by modern warfare in the civilian population. It even manages to ring a change on such a novel as Louis Guilloux's "Bitter Victory" by rendering a population that is living under the yoke of an invader. The background is the great textile-manufacturing region of northern France throughout the whole period of its occupation by the Germans. Van der Meersch, who lived through the period as a child, presents a minute, almost day-by-day chart of the wartime temper as it was registered not only in the conduct but in the most intimate psychological adjustments of his fellow-townsmen in the representative small industrial community of Roubaix.

The most fundamental of these adjustments, of course, for everyone—from the starved wives of the mill workers to the ruined manufacturers—was the establishment of some sort of working arrangement with the enemy. There are half a hundred characters drawn from every stratum of society, but the problem in every case is the same. Nearly all the situations in the book's seven hundred-odd pages derive from the conflict between a natural desire for survival and a too drastically challenged patriotism. Although the manufacturers agree among themselves not to keep their mills running for the enemy, some of them do not hesitate to negotiate secretly or to engage in other modes of profiteering. The mayor of the town is forced to play the difficult game of cooperating with the general staff and preserving the respect of his compatriots at one and the same time. As for the women, those who do not sell themselves openly for food or special privileges, seize the opportunity to betray husbands in jail or away at the front. Only a few individuals succeed in keeping their integrity absolutely untarnished, and these are properly rewarded with the contempt and suspicion of their fellow-citizens. Next to the greed, lust, hypocrisy, and general inhumanity of the native population, the transgressions of the invaders seem remarkably mild. Certainly this particular section of France seems to have conducted itself during the last war in a manner that can be anything but reassuring to those patriots engaged in preparing their country for the next. Unquestionably, the success which this work enjoyed in France, and for which its author was tardily awarded the Prix Goncourt in 1936, was to a large extent a *succès de scandale*.

But since the controversial aspect will hardly exist for the American reader, more will depend on the extent to which shape and significance are given to the unusually rich and fascinating body of material. And, despite several memorable scenes and a number of good characterizations, it must be said that neither of these objects is satisfactorily achieved. A loose chronicle of violent physical actions and often too obvious psychological divagations, cemented together with detail that is almost too absorbing for its own sake, the book falls into the quite common error of reproducing the chaotic disorder of its subject. The reason for this lack of any guiding and selecting focus is undoubtedly the palpable uncertainty of the point of view. This seems to vacillate between the Christian stoicism embodied in the quotation from Thomas à Kempis on the title page, "Here are hearts proved as gold in the furnace," and the kind of historical despair voiced by the disillusioned idealist Hennedyck in the long dialogue at the close. To the latter's "What's the use?" Van der Meersch does respond with what may be taken as his own resolution of the mood produced by the human spectacle:

> In me there is a constant struggle between reason and the will, and I am on the side of the will. I want to believe, to believe in something, in progress, in justice, to have faith in the destiny of mankind. Only so can I find a motive for doing anything, a reason to go on living, the promise of final peace. If I lost that belief, there would be for me only the terrors of nothingness and despair.

But throughout the book the evidences of the reason, in the picture given of civilized European society during one of its periodic crises, have been much more convincing than these rather febrile manifestos of the will-to-believe tacked on at the end. It may be that in his more recent writing this important young novelist has come to believe sufficiently in that "divine consciousness" which he invokes to express it properly in terms of his art. Here it is a sudden breath of suspicious mysticism that adds nothing to our understanding because it bears too little relation to what has preceded it, like a moral that does not fit the tale.

WILLIAM TROY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Constants of Social Relativity

IDEOLOGY AND UTOPIA. By Karl Mannheim. With a Preface by Louis Wirth. Translated by Louis Wirth and Edward Shils. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.

DISCOURAGED by the ways in which the perspectives of different people, classes, eras, cancel one another, you may decide that all philosophies are nonsense. Or you may establish order by fiat, as you bluntly adhere to one faction among the many, determined to abide by its assertions regardless of other people's assertions. Or you may become a kind of referee for other men's contests, content to observe that every view has some measure of truth and some measure of falsity. If they had asserted nothing, you could assert nothing. But in so far as they assert and counter-assert, you can draw an assertion from the comparison of their assertions.

Professor Karl Mannheim's "sociology of knowledge" is a variant of the third of these attitudes. He would begin with the *fact of difference* rather than with a *choice among the differences.* But in erecting a new perspective atop the rivalries of the old perspectives, he would subtly change the rules of the game. For the new perspective he offered would not be simply a *rival perspective;* it would be a *theory of perspectives.* In so far as it was accurate, in other words, its contribution would reside in its ability to make the *perspective-process* itself more accessible to consciousness.

Faction A opposes Faction B. To do so as effectively as possible, it "unmasks" Faction B's "ideology." Faction B may talk nobly about "humanity" or "freedom," for instance. And Faction A discloses the "real meaning" of these high-sounding phrases in terms of interests, privileges, social habits, and the like. Faction B retaliates by unmasking Faction A's ideology.

Each faction exposes, as far as possible, the conscious and unconscious deception practiced by the ideologists of rival camps. But in the course of exposing the enemy, a faction comes upon principles that could be turned upon itself as well. Hence, it can spare its own members from the general censure only by "pulling its punch." And precisely at this point there enter the opportunities for a "sociology of knowledge," if only the sociologist can so change the rules of the game that he finds no embarrassment in completing and maturing this "unmasking" process.

This he does in the easiest way imaginable. Whereas the ideologists of the opposing factions "point with alarm" to the fact that there is a difference between the face value of an opponent's idea and its real value in social commerce, the sociologist starts out by taking such discrepancies for granted. He begins with the assumption that an idea must be "discounted" by the disclosure of the interests behind it. Hence, he can treat the difference between the face value of an ideology and its behavior in a social context not as an "unmasking" but as an "explanation" or "definition" of the ideology. Thus, instead of being startled to find that an idea must be discounted, and taking this fact as the be-all and end-all of his disclosures, he assumes at the start the necessity of discounting, and so can advance to the point where he seeks to establish the *principles of discounting.*

Such, at least, is the reviewer's way of understanding Professor Mannheim's point in tracing a development from the "unmasking of ideologies" to the "sociology of knowledge." And his book presents a great wealth of material to guide the sociologist who would define ideologies in terms of their social behavior. Incidentally, in his gauging of the case, he suggests reasons why members of the intelligentsia are not a perfect fit for strict political alignment. Their working capital is their education—and in so far as they accumulate this capital to its fullest, they venture far beyond the confines of some immediate political perspective. He does not use this thought, however, to disprove the value of political affiliation. On the contrary, he suggests that there are ways in which this somewhat "classless" ingredient in the "capital" of the intelligentsia may serve to broaden and mature the outlook of the stricter partisans, and enable them to take wider ranges of reality and resistance into account.

As for the key terms, ideology and utopia, their "discounting" in social textures makes it impossible for the reader to follow them as absolute logical opposites. In general, the term ideology is used to connote "false consciousness" of a conservative or reactionary sort—while utopia stresses the same phenomenon in the revolutionary category. If conditions have so changed, for instance, that the landed proprietor has become a capitalist yet "still attempts to explain his relations to his laborers and his own function in the undertaking by means of categories reminiscent of the patriarchal order," he is thinking by "ideological distortion." And the "spiritualization of politics" in the thinking of the Chiliasts is treated as a typical utopia, surviving even in the thought of anarchists like Bakunin. However, although the conservative is not naturally given to utopian imaginings, being content to accept the status quo, the competitive pressure of revolutionary utopias spurs him to the construction of counter-utopias. Hegel's romantic historicism, erected in opposition to the liberal idea, is given as a prime example. Perhaps the following quotation illustrates the difference most succinctly:

> As long as the clerically and feudally organized medieval order was able to locate its paradise outside of society, in some other-worldly sphere which transcended history and dulled its revolutionary edge, the idea of paradise was still an integral part of medieval society. Not until certain social groups embodied these wish-images into their actual conduct, and tried to realize them, did these ideologies become utopian.

The book is concerned with the ramifications and subtilizations of this distinction, and with a theory of knowledge to be drawn from the plot of history as charted in accordance with these terms. The discussion being conducted largely in abstractions, the book will probably not endear itself to the general reader—but anyone interested in the relation between politics and knowledge should find it absorbing. Perhaps we could venture to summarize the case this way: whereas the needs of the forum tend to make sociology a subdivision of politics, Professor Mannheim is contributing as much as he can toward making politics a subdivision of sociology.

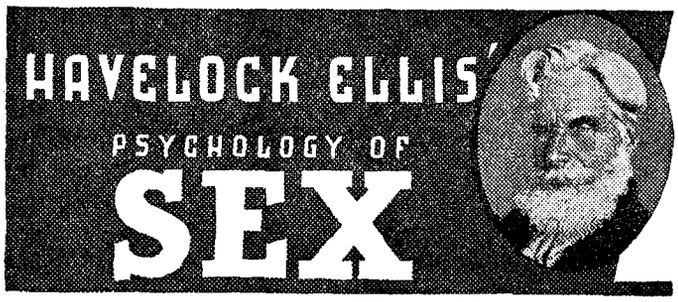
KENNETH BURKE

Modern and/or Contemporary

A BOOK OF CONTEMPORARY SHORT STORIES. Edited by Dorothy Brewster. With an Appendix on Writing the Short Story by Lillian Barnard Gilkes. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

THE assumption here—in itself a very valid one—is that enough has taken place since the publication of the editor's "Book of Modern Short Stories" in 1928 to render necessary a volume of "contemporary" short stories in 1937. Ten years ago, Miss Brewster observes prefatorily, the com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A Manual for Students and for the General Reader

HIS LATEST BOOK ON THE SEXUAL LIFE

Crystallizes the Findings of a Lifetime

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME—389 PAGES

PARTIAL CONTENTS

The Nature of the Sexual Impulse; Physical Factors; Mental Factors
The Sexual Zones
The Sexual Impulse in Youth
Masturbation
Frigidity: Frequency of; Nature of; Factors in; Treatment of
Impotence: Frequency of; Nature of: Temporary; Psychic; Neurasthenic; Treatment of
First Intercourse
Secondary Sexual Characters
The "Under-sexed"; the "Over-sexed"
Sexual Abnormalities
Sexual Irregularities
Exhibitionism
The Sexual Criminal
Analysis of Courtship
Woman's Change of Life: Adjustments; Advantages; Effect on Sexual Desire
The Dangerous Age in Men: Symptoms; Physical and Psychic Aspects

Carl Van Doren says: "The best one-volume treatment of sex in the English language."

Sadism and Masochism
Cruelty and Pain in Relation to Sex
Homosexuality: Background and Prevalence; Types and States
Homosexuality: Temporary; Pseudo-; in Youth; in Later Life; in Normal Persons
Hermaphroditism
Sexual Abstinence
Sex Intercourse and Health
Divorce
Monogamy; Polygamy
The Nature of Birth Control
The Question of Abortion
Frequency of Coitus

The Nation says: "There is probably no better introduction to contemporary knowledge and contemporary theories about the physiology, psychology and hygiene of sex."

The Sexual Athlete: Satyriasis: Nymphomania
Jealousy
Married Love
Psychoanalytic Concepts of Sex
Pre-marital Knowledge and Experience
Modesty: Nudism
Childbirth: Sex Life during Pregnancy; Immediately after
Sexual Feeling in Women
Sex Practice in Marriage
Methods and Technique of Coitus
Sexual Pleasure and Conception
Positions in Coitus
Sex Life and Nervous-Disorders
Sexual Difficulties
Freud's "Unconscious"; "Libido"
Dreams; Their Significance
Sex Life of Unmarried Adults
Sexual Fetishes and Symbols
The Art of Love
Sexual Adjustments
Sex Happiness
Age and the Sexual Impulse
The Sexual Impulse and Love
Love Rights of Women; of Men
The Choice of a Mate

Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases says: "Some of the finest and, in many respects, the most advanced findings in this field."

Esthetics of Coitus
Expression and Repression
Substitutes for Sex
Treatment of Sexual Complaints
Medical and Legal Treatment of Abnormal Gratification
Nature and Habits of the Invert: Medical and Legal Treatment of
Bisexual Attraction: Inter-Sexuality
Eonism (Identification with opposite sex)
The Marriage Relationship
The Power of the Sexual Urge
Sexual Maladjustments in Marriage
Wide Range of the Sexual Impulse
Relationship of Sex to Happiness in Marriage
Chastity: the Primitive Attitude; the Attitude Today
The Treatment of Sexual Anesthesia in Women

Bertrand Russell says: "Few books on sex can be so confidently recommended as this truly admirable volume."

Restriction of Sex Activity
How the Physician May Help
Main Channels of Sex Procedure
Factors in Erotic Personality
Sex as an Instinct versus Sex as an Appetite
Preparation for Marriage
Fertility and Sterility
Glossary of Sexual Terms
Index

Science News Letter says: "Not alone the psychological, but also the biological and medical aspects of marriage, love, and the sexual impulse are discussed, and new light is given on more or less universal problems."

Birth Control Review says: "Sums up the phenomena of sex psychology in their normal relation to life, so that the average person may get sufficient information to serve both in life and in conversation."

AUTHORIZED ● **$3.00 POSTPAID** ● **5TH PRINTING**

389 PAGES

SEND NO MONEY

MAIL THIS COUPON

Mail this coupon to your bookseller or to
Emerson Books, Inc., Dept. 774-N
251 West 19th St., New York City
Send me a copy of Havelock Ellis' Psychology of Sex for free examination. I will deposit $3.00 plus a few cents delivery charge when the book arrives. Full purchase price to be refunded, if returned within 5 days.
Name.....
Address.....
☐ CHECK HERE if you wish to enclose only $3 thus saving delivery charge. (Same money-back guarantee, of course.)

piler of "modern" short stories designed his anthology to "illustrate different ways of handling material"; today, however, he must seek fresh contexts for judgment in the "shifting preoccupation from form to subject matter." Accordingly, Miss Brewster parts the angry waters to Left and Right, distributing her 695 pages equally between the Ivory Tower practitioners—surely a misnomer—"recording physical and spiritual adventures which might happen to almost anybody, anywhere, in any period," and the exponents of the "Red Square," carrying forward revolutionary themes and pointing the direction in which modern society "is going, or might go, or should go."

Yet having parted the waters Miss Brewster does not walk across dryshod; indeed, she is more hard put than one might have surmised to pour her materials into the molds prepared for them. Her ivory towers reveal Russian cupolas, her Red Square opens on formal gardens, and the relative "modernity" of each is computed, in the last analysis, in terms of mere *topical* immediacy. One is at a loss to understand, for example, why Langston Hughes's Rejuvenation Through Joy, shelved with the Ivory Tower pieces, is to be regarded as any less "modern" than his "revolutionary" Professor, also included; or on what authority, other than the toss of a coin and its publication in *International Literature*, Isaac Babel's Awakening has been assigned to the Red Square.

As a survey of shorter fiction based on sociological themes, the latter half of Miss Brewster's volume has its value and usefulness; and setting aside for the moment any consideration of categories, the stories by Conrad Aiken, Katherine Anne Porter, Chekhov, Henry James, Lillian Barnard Gilkes, Sandor Gergel, Ignazio Silone, and Yuri Olesha may be read in their own right as distinguished exercises in craft. The line that quarantines the "modern" short story from its "contemporary" neighbors, however, remains written in water until the editor is ready to follow it into the labyrinths of language and technique where it eludes the cartographer's compass and where, at the present moment, it still awaits its discoverer.

BEN BELITT

The Community as a Hero

WHERE THE WEAK GROW STRONG. By Eugene Armfield. Covici, Friede. $2.50.

CERTAIN writers and critics of the left—notably M. Jules Romains—have lately been obsessed with the problem of multiplicity in fiction. Recognizing that a highly organized industrial society implies the spiritual disenfranchisement of the individual, these thinkers have been looking for an art form into which they might translate this economic reality. Specifically, they have been trying to postulate or, more rarely, actually to write a novel which should have as its protagonist not the One but the Many. While a great deal of cerebration has gone into this matter, very little action has come out of it. One thinks of M. Romains's work-in-progress and of Mr. Dos Passos's completed trilogy, but even in these cases the Individual often seems to have stolen the show from the Masses. It is therefore astonishing to find that a young writer, Eugene Armfield, has with his first novel done the trick, and done it so simply and so unpretentiously that it looks easy.

"Where the Weak Grow Strong" has a collective hero—the town of Tuttle, North Carolina, in the year 1912. Mr. Armfield has shattered the community into the multiple molecular lives that make it up, yet the town remains greater

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than the sum of its inhabitants. The book is divided into four parts: a morning, an afternoon, a Saturday night, and the day of the town carnival, "Everybody's Day." These sections are in turn composed of innumerable episodes—small, characteristic fragments of the lives of the townsfolk. Many and perhaps most of the hundreds of characters are glimpsed briefly, never to be seen again, yet they have been caught in such natural attitudes that the reader can truly be said to be familiar with them on first acquaintance. Mr. Armfield is clever: each episode, though it be only a few sentences long, is in a sense resolved; so that the reader's curiosity is never whetted to the point where he demands to know more than Mr. Armfield will tell him. The ends of Mr. Armfield's people are unquestionably inherent in their beginnings, and in this connection the author is fortunate in his choice of subject matter. Determinism hangs heavy over the book; the characters move as if on a treadmill; indeed, these keyhole peepings reveal less of the mystery and wonder of life than they do of its predictability. Yet life in 1912 in a Southern town was surely like this. Free will may have been a pious Episcopalian illusion, but practically the element of surprise must have been noticeably absent. Mr. Armfield's subject does harmonize neatly with his method, but to say this and no more would be unfair. Mr. Armfield knows his subject well, knows its social and economic inequalities, its frustrations, its occasional, happy homeliness; and he tells the truth about it. This book is, above all, technically striking; but it is something more than a stunt novel, for it has real humanity.

MARY MCCARTHY

The Economics of Chinese History

LANDLORD AND PEASANT IN CHINA. By Chen Han-seng. International Publishers. $2.

KEY ECONOMIC AREAS IN CHINESE HISTORY. By Ch'ao-ting Chi. Allen and Unwin. (Issued in the United States by the American Council of Pacific Relations.) $2.50.

ALTHOUGH written wholly independently, these books present a consistent and penetrating interpretation of the dynamics of Chinese history. It is Dr. Chi's contention that the development of water resources has played a decisive role in charting the course of dynastic history. He shows that in the frequent periods of chaos when various principalities were struggling for dominance, victory almost invariably went to the side with the best-developed irrigation and canal system, because this alone could assure the production and transportation of food. Vast irrigation projects were of necessity undertaken by the state, since local groups had neither the organization nor the equipment to attempt them. Thus it usually turned out that the strength of the dynasty depended on its energy in initiating and carrying through huge public-works projects, or in developing new "key economic areas" to support the army and the legion of political hangers-on. Water-control activity, according to the account of Dr. Chi, was primarily a political weapon which conferred incidental economic benefits on the poverty-stricken peasants.

This situation persisted until about the middle of the nineteenth century, when a complete new set of economic and political relationships was established by the opening of the country to foreign trade and industrialization. It is at this

THE *Nation* ANNOUNCES THE POSTPONEMENT OF ITS DINNER

The Department of State has informed *The Nation* that André Malraux, the distinguished French novelist announced as a guest of honor with Louis Fischer at a dinner in New York City on January 28, has withdrawn his application for a visa. Hence he will not be in New York on January 28.

The Secretary of State pointed out that certain features of Mr. Malraux's case necessitated inquiries before a visa could be granted.

Pending the receipt of information that Malraux has received a visa, *The Nation* has postponed its dinner. It is hoped that the situation may be cleared up promptly.

THE *Nation* WITH Reader's Digest

FOR ONLY $6

IF DESIRED, SUBSCRIPTIONS MAY BE MAILED TO DIFFERENT ADDRESSES

Two of America's most outstanding periodicals for $1 more than the price of *The Nation* alone!

The Reader's Digest affords a delightful but inexpensive means of keeping well informed. Each issue reprints over 30 articles so skillfully condensed they preserve the essence of the original without loss of thought, spirit or style. In its monthly harvest of 112 pages you find the very articles you would mark for reading if it were possible for you to check through all the current periodicals.

As a reader of *The Nation* you already appreciate its importance in your reading scheme. More than ever before, during the next twelve, tempestuous months you will need *The Nation* for its truthful account of the significant news and for its fearless, authoritative interpretation.

Subscriptions are for one year. They may be new or renewal and may be mailed to different addresses. You need send no money for 30 days. But to assure your receiving this bargain rate we urge you to fill in and mail the coupon at once.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. 1-30-37

Send me one year of *The Reader's Digest* and *The Nation* for $6. ☐ I inclose my check. OR ☐ I will pay in 30 days.

Name .....

Address .....

.....

.....

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

point that Mr. Chen begins his analysis, showing the effect of the forces unleashed by the West on the traditional economy of China. The picture is an appalling one. In the province of Kwangtung, where his study was undertaken, foreign commerce has existed for more than a century, but it has reacted only to the benefit of the comprador class. Many of these men have become immensely wealthy, and have invested their money, like all good Chinese, in land. The result has been a serious intensification of what was already the region's most serious problem—landlordism. Today 60 per cent of the cultivated land in the province is leased. Equally serious in its effect on the peasantry has been the development of a "modern" system of political organization which has increased taxes—taxes which are collected from the tenants rather than from the landlords—and given greater power to the local gentry.

As a consequence, Mr. Chen reports a steady and serious decline in living standards, agricultural productivity, and wage levels in the province during the past generation. A large proportion of the men have been driven into the army or to foreign countries, and agricultural labor has been performed to an increasing extent by women. Only about half of the tillable land is actually cultivated. The rest has suffered seriously from erosion and lack of proper care. Yet land is so expensive that it requires the equivalent of the wage of an agricultural laborer working for from ten to forty years to purchase a subsistence plot. On top of this, the handicraft industry has been practically destroyed by the flood of machine-made goods. Being a social scientist, Mr. Chen does not draw the obvious political conclusions from his study. But if the factors described by Dr. Chi still operate, one would expect that the neglect of fundamental resources, particularly labor power, would manifest itself in continuous civil strife and peasant uprisings until a constructive leader or new dynasty emerges.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

A Book You Should Read

The GLANDS OF LIFE

By HERMAN H. RUBIN, M.D.

How the Ductless Glands regulate our Mental, Physical and Sexual Health, Personality and Behavior. The vital role they play in our daily life and their contribution to successful living. Vitality, Sexual Virility, Senility, Rejuvenation and many other important subjects are presented in clear, direct, non-technical language.

Packed with authoritative information, yet as readable as a novel.

Price $1.50 Postage 15c extra

B. B. BELLAIRE, PUBLISHER
420 Lexington Ave., N. Y. Department N

AT THE MOSCOW TRIAL

An inside story

by

D. N. PRITT, K.C., M.P.

English expert on court procedure who attended the recent treason trial in Moscow

This authoritative pamphlet answers all questions about the testimony and confessions of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek and others

SEND FIVE CENTS
in coins or stamps to
SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY
824 Broadway, New York City
And the pamphlet will be mailed to you at once

A General Tells Some Truths

WE CAN DEFEND AMERICA. By Major General Johnson Hagood. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

GENERAL HAGOOD, who was summarily removed from his position last winter for criticizing WPA expenditures and then restored for a day, has done a great service by writing this book. For once an intelligent general has spoken out. And he has not followed the usual custom of demanding more troops, more money, more barracks, more airplanes, and more preparedness of a wholesale character. Instead, he has sharply criticized the War Department and its methods and made statements which, if they were published by a general in any other country than our own, would result in an immediate governmental inquiry. But when Admiral Sims charged that the educational system of the navy was absolutely bad, called for the complete making over of Annapolis, and asserted that not a single officer on arriving at flag rank was competent to command the fleet in war time, nobody did anything. Hence it is too much to expect that General Hagood's book will receive the national attention that it deserves.

It is true that General Hagood favors the best navy in the world, which we are so plainly not getting. In his own field his thesis is that we can defend America without difficulty with a small regular force. He wants an army conceived, organized, and administered, not as they do it in Europe, but in accordance with the genius of the American people and our own geographical situation. He wants an "essentially defensive army," organized simply to repel invasion, and he points out that it is a thousand-fold more difficult for Europe to make war upon America than to make war upon itself. An army of a million men landed upon American shores would have to unload 20,000 tons of cargo per day to maintain itself. This includes motor trucks, poison gas, ammunition, steel rails, and so on. If we had landed in France during the World War all the materials that we needed, it would have called for 40,000 tons of cargo per day, and there are only five ports in the United States which could handle so much tonnage. Moreover, no country except England has the cargo ships to transport anything like what would be needed to keep even 500,000 men supplied from Europe.

Our seacoast defenses, the General says, are "a pile of junk." As for the air corps, he does not want a large one but a small, thoroughly up-to-date force, organized with some conception of our needs and of the task that an air corps would have to undertake. He thinks it ridiculous to form our air corps on the theory that it can be used to raid European countries behind their military front, and he is sure that if we had 5,000 airplanes, the bulk of them would be antiquated before the newest were completed. The new German army program of smashing an enemy's capital by a huge force of army airplanes and following that up by a forward drive of a small mobile army, he laughs at. "No such force could come across the Atlantic Ocean," are his words. Then he adds: "It could not be a German, a French, or an Italian force, because they do not have the ships. It could not be a British force, because they do not have the men. It could not be a Japanese force, because Japan could not operate so far from its base without a very long period

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of preparation, including the destruction of our fleet in the Pacific."

Another section of the book, devoted to the training of men, constitutes an important argument against long periods of training and universal military training. General Hagood cites one instance after another in the infantry, cavalry, field artillery, and coast artillery in which bodies of green men were trained by good professional officers in an amazingly short time—in six weeks—not by the methods employed during the World War but by using common sense and doing away with routine drills in barracks.

Next he affirms that America is not seventeenth among the military powers, as the War Department says, but the very first, and that it needs only a very small expeditionary force in case of an emergency. He pokes fun at all the manners and customs of the army, especially at the saluting. He doesn't even believe in uniform clothing for troops, only that they should wear rough clothing suitable for the season of the year; and he is crazy enough to think that dentists and surgeons on duty with the army do not need to wear boots and spurs. The important thing is to give the men the best of weapons and to train them not to become automatons but to use their brains. He thinks it would have been vastly better to have given the 200,000 American troops who landed in France without having fired their rifles a few hours of instruction in shooting than to have wasted weeks in teaching them to salute and do calisthenic drills.

If this is not treason to our whole pompous, autocratic, and utterly unrealistic military system, what could be? It is a conclusive argument for the immediate creation of a civilian board to modernize the whole defense business—if we must have a defense army—and to see to it that a definite program of defending our shores shall be worked out and our whole military effort centered around it.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Shorter Notices

ASPECTS OF WILDE. By Vincent O'Sullivan. Henry Holt and Company. $2.50.

The bulk of this book deals with Oscar Wilde's last years in Paris, a period of the writer's life that has been far more of a target for criticism and mud-slinging than the pre-jail period itself. We have been given pictures of a fat, beringed personage sinking helplessly into debauchery; Lord Carson, the prosecuting lawyer at Wilde's trial, has described bumping into a "poor, painted creature" in a Paris street, and many others have added their muddy, self-righteous contributions. Mr. O'Sullivan attacks these critics from the standpoint of his acquaintance with Wilde after the latter's release from prison, and the Wilde he presents is in no way a sunken, cowardly personality but rather an alert observer, enduring a tormented life of staring, hostile people with admirable courage. Always the author bears in mind that Wilde is a literary figure and should be considered as such, and so he has detached him from the general mess of moral prejudice and criticized his works and conversation sensibly and without bias. Originally intended as an essay the book was stretched into its present form—an unfortunate thing, as there are many pages in which Wilde is not mentioned at all and the main theme of the book is neglected. Many of Wilde's quips and anecdotes as quoted here are embarrassingly poor and serve only as padding. But in those portions of the book where quantity has been ignored the quality of the writing is very

THE THEATRE GUILD *presents*
(by arrangement with Sidney Harmon)
But for the Grace of God
by Leopold Atlas
GUILD THEATRE, 52nd Street, West of Broadway
Mats.: Thursday and Saturday 2:45. Eves. 8:45

PROSE and POETRY GUILD
OFFERS FIVE FIVE-DOLLAR PRIZES
for the best unpublished poems
and short short stories by
known and unknown writers.
POEMS AND STORIES TO BE INCLUDED IN GUILD ANTHOLOGY
Manuscripts cannot be returned
PROSE AND POETRY GUILD, DEPT. IT, 75 FIFTH AVE., N. Y. C.

RALPH BATES
English novelist, author of *Lean Men, The Olive Field.* THE CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG
Author of *I Change Worlds,* just arrived from the Soviet Union and from Spain. THE PEOPLE'S FRONT IN SPAIN.

ROBERT MINOR
Member of the Central Committee, Communist Party, U.S.A. AMERICAN NEUTRALITY AND SPAIN.

MALCOLM COWLEY
Editor of The New Republic and author of Exile's Return, Chairman.

SPAIN in DEFENSE of FREEDOM
Sponsored by The New Masses and The American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy
Tickets: 35c, 55c, 83c, $1.10, $1.65. Now on sale at: New Masses (orders by mail and phone filled, CAledonia 5-3076), 31 East 27th St.; American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy (orders by mail and phone filled, LExington 2-5039), 31 East 27th St., and all Workers Bookshops.
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 10TH, 8:30 P. M.
MECCA AUDITORIUM
133 West 55th Street

HELP US PREPARE FOR HITLER
PROTEST
FOUR YEARS OF HITLER TERROR
AT
MECCA TEMPLE
130 West 55th Street
January 31st, 8 P. M.
SPEAKERS: Cong. Emanuel Celler; William Weiner, Pres. I. W. O.; Moissaye J. Olgin, editor Morning Freiheit; Isidore Sorkin, Manager Local 9, ILGWU; Kurt Rosenfeld, Former Prussian Minister of Justice
CHAIRMAN: Ben Gold, Pres. Furriers Joint Council of N.Y.
AUSPICES OF
JEWISH PEOPLES COMMITTEE FOR UNITED ACTION AGAINST FASCISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM
401 Broadway
ADMISSION 50c, 35c
A REAL "ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION"

"ARE WE EVOLVED FROM APES?"
Was Darwin right? Is man a modified monkey?
A momentous debate that will become memorable
YES: Edwin Tenney Brewster, M.A., scientist and author, for the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism
NO: D. J. Whitney, B.Sc., of the Religion and Science Association
BEGINS IN THE FEBRUARY 6TH ISSUE OF
THE TRUTH SEEKER (Est. 1873)
38 Park Row New York, N. Y.
A Journal for Thinkers and Libertarians—issued weekly
Specializing in educational controversy; $3 a year; 10c a copy
Thirty-two page catalogue of scientific and liberal books free

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

good and forms an excellent and much-needed defense of Wilde. There are also comments on many of Wilde's friends and enemies, all of which make good reading.

RICHARD VAUGHAN

THE NOVEL IN MOTLEY. A HISTORY OF THE BURLESQUE NOVEL IN ENGLISH. By Archibald Bolling Shepperson. Harvard University Press. $3.

The importance of Mr. Shepperson's subject is proved by the circumstance that three of his chapters are devoted to Fielding, Jane Austen, and Thackeray, each of whom served an apprenticeship in fiction wearing the cap and bells. Each of them began with parody upon a prevailing style, and each of them built upon that style an enduring one of his own—purified, of course, by a great talent, but purified also in the fires of criticism. For parody is criticism, as Mr. Shepperson perfectly understands, and it was by no means to the disadvantage of these three novelists that they had to start out by using their minds. Mr. Shepperson treats the whole story of burlesque fiction between Fielding and Bret Harte as if it were a chapter in the history of literary criticism, as indeed it seems to be; and only hints the moral that the chapter should not have closed with the nineteenth century, when for one reason or another the art of prose parody declined. Fiction continues to need something of the sort, particularly at a time when the criticism it gets is as absurd in its solemnity as most of the fiction is in its foolishness. Mr. Shepperson writes other chapters on the Frenchified romance, the novel of "feeling," the revolutionary novel, the Gothic tale, and the novel of knighthood as victims of current ridicule; and appends a valuable list of burlesque novels written between 1830 and 1900. His study is both workman-like and graceful, and should continue for a long time to have its uses.

MARK VAN DOREN

DRAMA

Near the Bohemian Coast

ANYONE who came in in the middle of "High Tor," Maxwell Anderson's new play at the Martin Beck Theater, might be pardonably bewildered. High in the air he would see two substantial but sinister citizens imprisoned in the bucket of an idle steam shovel, while upon a crag just beneath, the robustious shade of one of Henry Hudson's men is holding converse with a stenographer from a twentieth-century office. Other things just as odd as that happen quite regularly throughout the play, and yet—if the reader will only take my word for it—they can seem quite reasonable to one who has followed from the beginning the airy and delightful fantasy. Versatility is one of the most conspicuous though not the most important of Mr. Anderson's many virtues, and in "High Tor" he has written a playfully imaginative comedy agreeably unlike anything our theaters are accustomed to house.

Some spectators, to be sure, seem to have fretted themselves into believing that they do not understand everything as precisely as they should; but that is only because they have been looking for a more solemnly detailed symbolism than the author had any intention of providing, and the outline of the story is simple enough. A romantic young man—played with his usual combination of authority and charm by Burgess Meredith—owns a bit of mountain overlooking the Hudson. Living there in refuge from the modern world which he hates, he refuses to sell out to the industrialists who are gradually taking over the region; and during the course of one wild night, while the emissaries of the enemy are imprisoned in the bucket, he holds converse with those same Dutchmen who put Rip Van Winkle to sleep. They are embodiments of his romanticism as well as representatives of a race displaced by his forefathers exactly as he is about to be displaced by new aliens, and they convince him that it is folly to resist new civilizations—partly because they will win anyway and partly because, as an Indian surviving in flesh and blood explains, even the new turns into the quaint if you give it years enough; there is nothing man can build which does not make a very romantic ruin in time.

No one is likely to misunderstand that much of plot and meaning, but to hunt for precise symbolism in all the fantastic details which embellish or enliven the play is to assume a tight allegory when what one has is a freely playful fantasy instead. What one needs is not profundity but liveliness of imagination, and the curtain of the first act will illustrate as well as anything else the spirit of the piece. There has been some talk of the legendary Dutchmen, whose existence our hero will neither affirm nor deny, but who are said to appear in stormy weather. As dusk falls, he is facing the audience when suddenly one sees their silhouettes, schnapps keg and all, advancing across the crest. As the young man turns, we wait for the cry of astonishment. Nothing happens for an instant, and then he remarks calmly, "Well, it's going to rain all right." Now that, of course, doesn't mean anything except that the Dutchmen are a familiar sight to the hero. But at the moment when it comes, it is surprising and funny and delightful.

Using the word merely to define and not to evaluate, "High Tor" is surprisingly Shakespearean—or Beaumont and Fletcherish—in the sense that its immediate ancestors seem to be not any of the symbolic plays of recent years but the freer romantic fantasies of the Elizabethans, dominated by poetry and playfulness rather than by allegory. Nor could I help feeling that one of the most striking things about the performance was the happily receptive attitude of an audience which, I feel perfectly sure, would even five years ago have felt it a duty to resent anything so devoid of "sophistication." Perhaps the scene in which one of the Dutchmen mistakes two men under a blanket for a double-headed monster is a bit too directly Shakespearean (*vide* "The Tempest"), but Mr. Anderson modernizes the incident very amusingly, and his whole play may help accomplish something which the modern drama needs as badly as it needs anything else. It may help limber up the imagination.

I have already mentioned the engaging performance of Burgess Meredith. Considerably less expected is the richly humorous one by Charles G. Brown as one of the Dutchmen. All of us who had seen Mr. Brown in a long series of hard-boiled roles knew that he was a good actor, but we had about given up hope that he would ever be intrusted with anything except the comic relief in detective mysteries and the like. Now he emerges as the possessor of a real style which seems to fit perfectly the role of a half-comic, half-romantic ghost. I nominate him for almost any of the low-comedy roles in Shakespeare—anything from, say, First Grave-Digger to Sir Toby Belch.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FILMS

Black Is Black

IT HAS been said by at least one newspaper that "Black Legion," the film which Warner Brothers have made out of a recent American scandal, is "vastly important" and should be seen by everybody. To say this is to indict most Americans of a grossness which I think they do not possess. Most Americans disapproved of the doings in Michigan last spring, and the film can only underline their disapproval, since it keeps the night riders in a bad light throughout and sends a dozen of them to the penitentiary for life sentences at the close. But this is an easy moral triumph—kicking an obvious villain when he is already behind the bars. A subtler and perhaps more valuable triumph would consist in making us see a villain where we thought we had seen a saint, on some social level so high above that of the Michigan morons that many of us suppose it to be beyond criticism. We might learn something from such a film, whereas we are told by this one that black is black, and we knew that a long time ago. The film is not even excellent in its own terms; it is full of stock figures, it moves with a barren obviousness, and in general it has about one-tenth as much art in it as "Fury" had, to name a predecessor which itself was imperfect.

The frontier beyond the law is with us likewise in "The Plainsman" (Paramount), which brings Gary Cooper to his millions of adorers under the name of Wild Bill Hickok. The director, Cecil B. De Mille, has handled the inevitable Indians with a surprising restraint; the story is substantially true; and the march of events is very stirring. I say that the story is substantially true in spite of the fact that the original Hickok managed to get along without Calamity Jane (Jean Arthur) and, while certainly a killer, was always on the side of the law. It was perhaps a sound instinct that touched him here with irregularity, for it gives us a chance to see him softening under the influence of a woman. As for Gary Cooper himself, let it suffice that all biographers of Hickok report him as "handsome and fascinating." Mr. Cooper has never been more of either.

The Museum of Modern Art began its second annual series of revivals the other evening with a program which included one of the most famous of the early German films, "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari." It seemed to me a little less horrible than it was in 1921, partly perhaps because it had not been cut to the brilliant length it originally possessed in America. But the best of it was still powerful; and one could be sure that this best was exactly what it had once been, since the revival of a film is not, like the revival of a play, a new entity altogether—unless, as in the case of "Broken Blossoms" (Belmont Theater), the film has been remade from the ground up. Griffith's minor masterpiece of 1919 is no masterpiece at all in this English caricature of its celebrated and, of course, exaggerated terrors, the fine work of Dolly Haas as Lucy scarcely compensating for the crudeness of the rest.

While I am on the subject of revivals I should say to New Yorkers that the World Cinema on Forty-ninth Street is always worth watching, since any good film on earth may turn up there from the comparatively recent past.

MARK VAN DOREN

Teachers!

Twenty years ago the idea that knowledge of party politics, the price of electricity and the chance of a student finding a job after graduation belong among the materials of education was a revolutionary, almost sacrilegious notion. Today school walls are open wide to the problems which stretch beyond the classroom. Since 1914 the editors of THE NEW REPUBLIC, and its contributors—such men as Herbert Croly, Professor John Dewey, Professor Charles A. Beard—have been foremost among those who have put their shoulders against stiff academic walls and pushed them open. An important part of the audience of the weekly *New Republic* is composed of teachers and students. More than 100 colleges and schools use the paper today for supplementary reading.

The classroom rate of

The New
REPUBLIC
is 25¢ a month

per student, for orders of ten or more copies weekly, sent to one address. Desk copies free.

What students say

"I have found *The New Republic* the most informative of the socially conscious periodicals."

. . .

"I signed up in September for a course in Current Economic Problems. The textbooks are *The New Republic* and *The New York Times*. The type of material discussed in *The New Republic* had never before interested me, until I received my first two issues. I could not, at that time, see myself as an interested, deeply interested, observer of political situations. Yet, after enjoying several of your issues, I feel that I have missed something really important, and am genuinely thankful for your so-excellent publication."

Address orders to
THE NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

A Seaman Does His Bit

[*The following letter is reprinted from the* Voice of the Federation, *the lively newspaper published weekly by the Maritime Federation of the Pacific.*]

Brothers: I'm second in command of a converted British yacht. . . . We picked up our boat in an unnamed Baltic port—crew were Danes and Esthonians. Now (November 29) we're off the Catalan coast, near Cape Ras, I believe. We'll slip into a little French port, Port Vendre, or maybe anchor off Banyul-sur-Mar. I'll try to slip ashore or send this ashore along with a few other "important" letters.

The weather has been thick, luckily for us, but the blockade is bad. Italy may not be in this thing officially, or Germany either, but the Dago subs are as thick as mourners at a rich Gee's funeral. And we saw several Heinie destroyers off Barcelona, where we did *not* go in.

Not that all this matters to you back there in the states. But it's pretty grim and pretty dirty business to the Spiks over here. It's the same sort of high-handed tactics sometimes used in the states by owners fighting the workers. And the lesson we can learn by watching the outcome of this mess may help the workers and the union men when a similar crisis comes to the United States.

I suppose I'll be blacklisted in the states as a damn Communist. I can alibi that I'm running arms—for that's our job—for the dough and the kick I get out of it. Put it down that way. But you can also hint to any comrades in the states that I'd see myself burn in hell before I'd run guns for that "Bastid" (as Hemingway calls it) Fascist Franco.

If and when we get this load through, and if and when we finish this business, I may stay and enlist with what is left of the workers' army—fighting in whatever country the battle is being waged. Or I may return to the United States and enlist in the battle that is going on there *all the time.* Maybe with what I've learned over here I can be of some help. If you want me, that is.

So—*Hasta Luego,* as the Spiks say.

Off the Coast of Spain, R. B.
Thanksgiving Day, 1936

Monroe and Roosevelt

Dear Sirs: I accede unreservedly to Mr. Hallgren's superior knowledge of naval and military possibilities in a future war in which the United States may be involved. I admit my ignorance about the strategic importance of Guam and sincerely hope that my fears that New York or San Francisco may be bombarded by enemy airplanes are entirely unfounded. Mr. Hallgren may be assured that I am not a press agent for any of the aviation firms. That, so far, there are no bombing planes which can fly 3,000 miles and back with a full load, I readily admit.

Rereading my article, however, I somehow cannot discover the passage in which I said that the United States could be *conquered* by submarines and airplanes. Mr. Hallgren would have saved sixteen lines of his argumentation in the valuable space of *The Nation* if he had not overlooked the fact that, at the beginning of my article, I said that these bombers could be launched from airplane carriers. Airplane carriers can be protected by warships and submarines. Twenty years ago German submarines were able to come to American shores and there sink American ships. Moreover, I do not see why an expeditionary force of "volunteers" from Japan or the European fascist powers could not be landed, for instance, during a civil war in Mexico, and then marched to the United States border. It is not farther from Europe to America than from America to Europe, and twenty years ago America was able to land one and a half million men in France to fight against Germany.

Though I must dispel Mr. Hallgren's doubt that I had ever read Monroe's original message to Congress, I looked it up again in the "World Almanac" and I remain under the impression, which I happen to share with the spokesmen of all the reactionary Latin American governments, as well as with those of their extreme leftist opponents, that Monroe's message was a unilateral declaration. Roosevelt's address appeared to me, as to most commentators, to be a departure from the idea of the original Monroe message by its implication of a multilateral agreement in the mutual interest of all countries, which of course means also in the interest of the United States.

Mr. Hallgren's statement to the effect that Roosevelt's intention is to prevent the Latin American republics from "fighting on the other side" is not only no refutation of my interpretation but practically identical with what I said on the subject, namely, "Roosevelt's speech was apparently also a warning to those Latin American countries which flirt with the idea of aligning themselves with the European fascist countries." And the American desire "to protect the sources of certain raw materials that America might need in the war" is quite obviously implied in that idea and needs no special emphasis. I also grant Mr. Hallgren that another objective may have been the furtherance of "peaceful economic penetration." But this is also so obvious that, probably for this reason, a very similar passage in my original manuscript was left out by the editors of *The Nation,* because of lack of space.

True, from the point of view of uncompromising traditional pacifism and radicalism, the intentions of the Roosevelt Administration fall undoubtedly under the category of imperialism, but I shamelessly admit that I believe that as long as the millennium is still in the offing, the workers of these semi-colonial countries might be better off within the sphere of an enlightened economic imperialism, Roosevelt style, than under the heel of Hitler, Mussolini, or the Japanese war lords.

STEPHEN NAFT

New York, January 23

The Honor Is Ours

Dear Sirs: The Nation itself, and an Associated Press release, brought me the news that you had seen fit to include my name on your 1936 honor roll. I sincerely appreciate this honor. Since I started to college I have been a regular reader of *The Nation,* and I give the magazine and its staff a large part of the credit for any liberal outlook that I may have.

In your citation you refer to the dark regions of Mississippi. It is true that my native state is backward in many ways, but this particular section, northeastern Mississippi, more especially the Tupelo area, is the most liberal area in the mid-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

South. The chief factor helping to create a measure of liberality in this immediate section has been the coming of the TVA. We have a long way to go, but I sincerely believe, and I say it advisedly, that if the TVA is allowed to go through with its broad program, this immediate area will take the lead in progressive measures in the South.

Your recognition of my work is the greatest honor that I have ever received, and I want to say again that I greatly appreciate it. GEORGE MCLEAN
Tupelo, Miss., January 2

Another Durruti

Dear Sirs: Your issue of December 26 carried a letter signed by Max Nomad, Stephen Naft, Carlo Tresca, and others which said that Buenaventura Durruti, leader of the Anarchist column in Spain, "is the same Durruti whom the *New Masses* of June 9 accused of working with the fascists."

This is not the case. The *New Masses* of June 9 published an article from Spain by Ilya Ehrenbourg which said that "the police arrested a certain Anarchist, Marcelo Duruti, who was planning in league with the fascists quite an underhanded affair." Obviously Marcelo Duruti is not the same as Buenaventura Durruti.

As for the "cowardice" of the Spanish Anarchists, one is surprised that anyone should miss the point. What originally made the Anarchists a menace to the defense of Spanish democracy was not their cowardice. They always have been and are to this day extremely brave men. But their Anarchist principles nullified their courage. Several months ago they plastered the walls of Spain with posters saying: "Let us organize *indiscipline.*" The practical application of this doctrine was disastrous. In war the most exalted personal courage is no substitute for that discipline which the Anarchists at first rejected in principle.

That much the Anarchists themselves learned from bitter experience. Today one of their leaders, Juan Peyro, says to his comrades: "It is necessary that you, lovers of indiscipline, realize that now we must have a war discipline. . . . The members of the National Confederation of Labor did not go into the government to represent indiscipline, but on the contrary to demand discipline and unified command."

It is true that "for the last sixty years the Spanish Anarchists have been the romantic daredevils of their country's labor movement." It is also true that romantic daredeviltry by itself can never solve fundamental military and political problems. For the last sixty years the Spanish Anarchists have been following a false theory which the experience of the civil war has caused the best of them to abandon. JOSEPH FREEMAN
New York, December 28

On Buying a Used Car

Dear Sirs: Some time ago my wife and I saw an advertisement that looked good to us: "1934 Ford Coupe, good condition, $425, run only 21,000 miles."

"Mary, that's the car we need. I can use it going to work, and then you can have it the rest of the day." "Do you think we can afford it, Jim?" "Well, we will go down and look at it."

After we had signed on the dotted line, I paid $100 down as first payment, then $1.50 for license transfer. A few days later I received a notice from a finance company that they held my notes, having bought them from the used-car dealer, and that the interest on the unpaid balance was $70. In the same mail was a copy of my contract from the used-car dealer, with insurance papers covering fire, theft, and collision. The insurance cost me $56 down, and my monthly payments were $29.33 a month on the unpaid balance.

One week after we bought the car two cylinders started to pump oil. After trying to remedy this by new plugs, I had to have the valves reground. This cost $7. Then my coil unit burned out, and the brakes refused to hold; the complete bill this time was $22. About a month later I noticed a bulge in the rear. It looked like a paint blister, but when I tried to sandpaper it down, the whole piece fell out. A hole had been knocked in the back and then patched up with wood filler. I had to take it to a body mechanic, who repaired it and painted it—for $6.

A week or so later I noticed a knock either in the engine or the clutch housing. On examination I found one gear worn and a piston ring broken—cost $32. I had to have a complete set of new rings put in, as well as other parts for the clutch. By this time my tires were down to the fabric. I tried to get by with some second-hand tires, but after two months they were just as bad as the others, so I went to Sears, Roebuck and got a complete set for around $45.

I still must pay $150 on the car before I can get the title; by this time the car has depreciated in value, so that if I sell it for $150 I will be doing well. Pro-

Waiting By Raphael Soyer

Genuine, Signed, Original

ETCHINGS

of Museum Quality

Works Like These Regularly Sell for $18, $36 and UP

NOW ONLY $5 *EACH*

Fifty-one of America's foremost artists have agreed to permit a limited sale of their personally signed, original etchings and lithographs at only $5 each—as part of a new nation-wide art program. The offering includes genuine, signed originals by such famous artists as Thomas Benton, George Elmer Browne, John Steuart Curry, Luigi Lucioni, Louis Lozowick, Philip Kappel and John Costigan—men whose signatures on some works of art are valued at hundreds, even thousands of dollars. Many of the originals here offered would regularly sell in the galleries for many times this remarkably low price!

Includes Five Prize-Winners

Every work is guaranteed perfect, and is in strictly limited edition, after which the plates are destroyed. In some cases the etching is so delicate that editions are limited to far less than a hundred original prints. These are not small originals. Plate sizes average 8 by 11 inches. Mat sizes average 14 by 18 inches. This is the same group from which more than a score of art museums have obtained works for their permanent collections. In addition to five prize-winners, four in this new group have just been selected by America's leading art critics as among the "Outstanding Prints of the Year."

Many Already Doubled in Value

A survey indicates that many originals have already more than doubled in value (some even tripled) because of the unprecedented demand, which quickly exhausts editions. We suggest that you act promptly in order to give yourself the broadest selection.

Send for Free Illustrated Catalogue

An interesting catalogue has been prepared, illustrating the works available, and containing biographical data on each artist's career and awards. Send only 10c in stamps to cover mailing costs and a copy will be sent to you at once. Through our special mail order service you can select the originals you wish at home. All selections are shipped with the understanding that your money will gladly be refunded if not delighted in every way. Address:

ASSOCIATED AMERICAN ARTISTS
Studio 431, 420 Madison Ave., N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vided I don't have to make any more major repairs in the next three months, the car will have cost me $708.46. If I ever have enough money ahead I believe I will become a used-car dealer.

CORBILCO

Richmond, Va., January 11

Pilot, Retired

Dear Sirs: "Twenty-seven people were killed last month in airplane crashes." You start the paragraph on aviation in your issue of January 9 with a shock; and I am glad of it. But you do not mention that one of these twenty-seven was Juan de la Cierva, the inventor of the autogiro. His death in an airplane was certainly an "irony of fate."

Your recommendations for air safety are sound. After flying as a professional pilot for fourteen years it dawned on me that it was a hazardous business; so in 1931 I got a mechanic's job with the Pitcairn Autogiro Company. Carrying mail with a parachute as life preserver, as I did in 1919, was okay, but to have a load of passengers trusting in my good luck seemed a bit too much.

It was not long before I was flying the "whirligigs" and liking it. In the navy it was a pleasure to fly over the water in a good old flying boat, but I had never been really happy over the land, wondering where to "land" if—.

The air lines have done wonders, but I doubt if they pay big dividends until flying is proved to be not only faster but also safer than other forms of transportation. I believe this can be done with the autogiro and the dirigible. I trust that you will give aviation more notice. Its progress will aid unity among nations as other forms of fast transportation have done.

JOHN MILLER

Upper Montclair, N. J., January 11

Rivera's Frescos

Dear Sirs: Many of your readers have doubtless seen Diego Rivera's magnificent series of twenty-one frescos painted for the people of New York by the great artist as a voluntary labor, and housed by him in the auditorium of the New Workers' School. The building is now to be torn down, and the New Workers' School has received a dispossess notice.

We have found a new home, a big trade-union and labor center at 131 West Thirty-third Street, but the rent is more than three times as high as in the ramshackle old building we have been occupying, and the cost of proper moving and installation is above $900. A minimum sum of $1,500 raised promptly will cover the moving and some of the additional expenses thus incurred. The murals have now been crated and moved into the building, where they will be kept on permanent exhibition when sufficient funds have been raised.

The New Workers' School is a nonprofit, volunteer-operated institution with no funds of its own. Will you help us save the murals and make them accessible to many more thousands? Make checks payable to Mural Fund, New Workers' School, 131 West Thirty-third Street.

BERTRAM D. WOLFE

New York, January 15

Objection Allowed

Dear Sirs: Max Nomad, Stephen Naft, Carlo Tresca, Anita Brenner, and J. M. Escuder are right in protesting against my unnecessary and undesirable indiscretion about the column which allowed the Spanish rebels to enter the university suburb. This is the time for an armistice among anti-fascists which may offer the opportunity for greater understanding, closer cooperation, and perhaps ultimate fusion.

LOUIS FISCHER

Paris, January 15

CONTRIBUTORS

REINHOLD NIEBUHR is professor of applied Christianity at the Union Theological Seminary and author of "Reflections on the End of an Era."

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, professor of English literature at the University of Chicago, is the author of many works of literary criticism and of several novels. With William Vaughn Moody he wrote "A History of English Literature," a standard textbook. He was at one time editor of the *Dial* and is at present an editor of the *New Republic*.

ALEXANDER VIDAKOVIC, London correspondent of *Politika*, the leading journal of Belgrade, also contributes to the London *Economist* and the *New Statesman and Nation*. He recently spent six months in America covering the Presidential campaign and other events for his paper.

KENNETH BURKE is the author of "Permanence and Change," "Counter-statement," and "Towards a Better Life." He will give a series of lectures on literary criticism during the spring term of the New School for Social Research.

"ESSENTIAL READING FOR ANYONE WHO WISHES TO UNDERSTAND THE PROCESSES SHAPING THE WORLD TODAY"

—The Baltimore Sun

In this book, written not to frighten, but to warn, the author of *Hitler Over Europe* answers the question that overshadows the world of 1937. Will the next twelve months witness a fight to the finish between the forces of Fascism, led by Germany, and the forces of Socialism, led by Russia? Here is the documented, considered, relentless analysis of a brilliant political analyst. Price $2.50.

HITLER OVER RUSSIA?

The Coming Fight Between the Fascist and The Socialist Armies

BY ERNST HENRI

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, *Publishers*, 386-4th Ave., N. Y. C.

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION Price, 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One Year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Canadian: 50 cents a year additional. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Dramatic Index, Index to Labor Periodicals, Public Affairs Information Service. Three weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for subscriber's change of address.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED